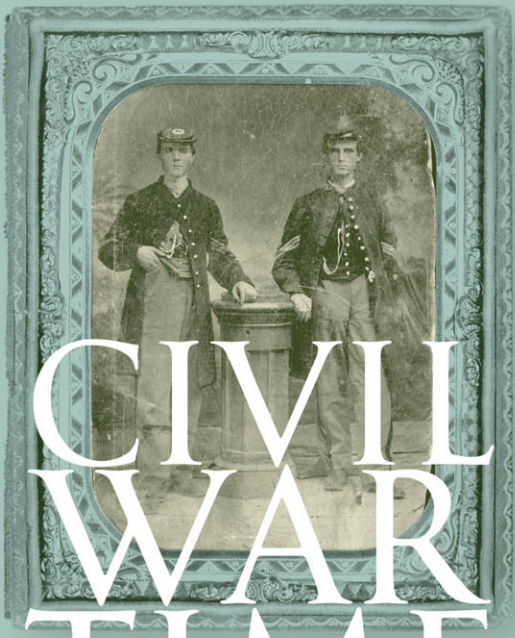

CIVIL WAR TIME

Temporality and Identity in America, 1861–1865

CHERYL A. WELLS

VISIT…

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For Mom, Dad, Terri, and Edward, with love

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INTRODUCTION

Civil War Time(s)

Since Robert E. Lee's 1865 Palm Sunday surrender, the Civil War has marked and defined time in the nineteenth century. Like a clock that strikes only one hour, the Civil War split nineteenth-century American time into two discrete units: antebellum and postbellum. Some historians have argued that the postbellum era, with its aggressive northernization of southern life, replaced the antebellum era, with its dedication to northern industrialism and southern agrarianism.[1] Yet not all aspects of antebellum society disappeared with the birth of the postbellum era. Although the Civil War may have divided American time in the nineteenth century, it did not permanently alter Americans' perceptions or usages of time. Rather, the Civil War years complicated and temporarily altered how Americans understood and used time, as battlefield events overrode antebellum conceptions of time to create new temporal parameters within which Americans functioned. This reconfiguring was, however, momentary. At the war's conclusion, antebellum American temporalities reemerged to organize life in the postbellum era.

Antebellum America was a world of multiple, competing times.[2] The world was governed by clock times, natural times, God's time, and personal times. While clock times were determined by human or mechanical means, natural times were determined by the seasons, the weather, the sun, and the moon. God's time regulated the antebellum week by insisting on the setting aside of each Sunday for worship. And personal times were determined by individuals themselves. In the North, workplace changes wrought by capitalism—namely, industrialization—resulted in the emergence and eventual preponderance of clock-regulated wage labor.[3] Some historians have argued that with clock ownership uncommon and with the region isolated from the currents of capitalism, the slave South developed a task-

oriented and premodern sense of time based on nature's rhythms.[4] However, free wage labor is not the only measuring stick of capitalism.[5]

Under the pressures of the market revolution, southerners embraced a "capitalist economy" as an "economically profitable and socially stabilizing" force.[6] Slavery was a profitable institution largely because in their drive to profit, southern planters and industrialists ran their businesses in the same way that northern industrialists ran their factories. At base, slavery and its accompanying brutality represented "unrestrained capitalism," as planters implemented any means necessary to ensure profit.[7] Furthermore, slavery gave planters "capitalized labor"—access to all of a slave's labor power and ownership of all of a slave's time. Slaves, then, were "a form of capital, specifically 'fixed' capital" that permitted planters easily to diversify in their pursuit of profits.[8] Slavery, however, was not the region's only labor force. Yeomen also shared planters' drive for profit and operated within a society that may have been undemocratic and even preclassical but was increasingly capitalistic.[9]

Moreover, some southerners, including some slaves, worked for wages. Construction, industry, and agriculture offered jobs that paid by the amount of time worked or the amount of material produced. In 1834, for example, Sea Island planters James Hamilton Cooper and Mr. Nightingale hired Irish laborers to build a canal connecting Brunswick, Georgia, with the Altamaha River at a rate of twenty dollars a month.[10] Industries such as Richmond's Tredegar Ironworks also embraced wage labor; if slaves "worked overtime or turned out more than their required amount of piecework, they could earn money for themselves."[11] Other southern industries preferred female wage laborers to slaves. Indeed, Georgia's Columbus Cotton Factory employed mostly women, paying them ten to twelve dollars a month.[12] Wage labor, however, was not limited to southern industry. For example, shopkeeper Rueben King of Darien, Georgia, paid his employees a flat rate of two dollars a day regardless of race or gender.[13] Even some southern planters engaged in wage labor, hiring out slaves, paying overseers, and hiring other workers.[14]

The fact that antebellum planters, industrialists, yeomen, and wage laborers embraced profit capitalism meant that they clearly possessed the context necessary to develop a clock-conscious society. And by 1830, historian Mark

Smith argues, capitalistic southerners had done just that, using the clock to reinforce a conservative, organic social order. Clock-regulated horns and bells scheduled the agricultural workday, just as factory clocks and bells ordered the industrial workday.[15] Both planters and industrialists used the clock in a most capitalist fashion—to conserve time and maximize labor. Industrialists measured work by the factory clock, while planters took their portable timepieces into the fields to measure the amount of time tasks took and to ensure their completion on schedule.[16] New justifications for discipline emerged as overseers punished those who violated the clock's authority. In the North, the wage and in some instances the whip backed clock-regulated time, as dollars were deducted and lashes added for minutes lost.[17] Unable to dock wages, southern planters turned exclusively to the whip, and some southern industrialists followed that example.[18] Other southern industrialists, including William Weaver of Virginia's Buffalo Forge Iron Works, shied away from the whip for fear of retaliation. Weaver opted instead to dock wages, just as his northern counterparts did.[19]

Watches and clocks were thus not just a popular keepsake in the antebellum era but were necessary, as society had adopted "clock time as a legitimate arbiter of work and social organization." In the South, such actions simultaneously satisfied planters' "drive for profit, . . . desire for discipline and social order, and . . . claim to modernity." The American South between 1830 and the Civil War thus did not constitute "a place on the edge of modern time consciousness" but rather "was very much in and of it."[20]

While Americans recruited the clock to measure work, enforce punctuality, and set the parameters of the workday, the cycles of nature routinely disrupted the clock's authority, forcing antebellum Americans to operate within more than a single temporality. Nineteenth-century America was predominantly a rural society, and seasonal time consequently dictated the timing and nature of work accomplished. On American plantations and farms, slaves, planters, yeomen, farmers, and laborers rose early to take advantage of summer's daylight and worked late to finish the harvest.[21]

Much like planters and farmers, factory owners expanded and contracted working hours in accordance with the season. Although the industrial workday "required a six-day week of twelve-hour days all year round," nature

refused to cooperate and forced factories to embrace its cycles.[22] Before the widespread use of electricity, industrialists sought ways to accommodate the fluxes of nature by adjusting work hours or by manipulating the clock, literally turning back the hands of time to gain extra hours of work from unsuspecting employees.[23]

Although the hours of work fluctuated with the passing seasons, the nature of factory work remained unchanged throughout the year. On farms and plantations, however, the seasons dictated when planters and farmers accomplished different types of work. January, for example, demanded the planting of sugar on Louisiana cane plantations and the clearing of tobacco beds in Tennessee, while September marked the beginning of the corn harvest in Virginia and New England.[24] The seasonal nature of these agricultural tasks provided a rhythm to rural life but did not necessarily offer predictability, as nature often disrupted and reordered previously scheduled agricultural tasks. While all farmers were vulnerable to nature, rice planters along the Carolina and Georgia coast were particularly susceptible and sensitive as the tides dictated work schedules.[25]

While natural time and mechanical time ordered workdays, God's time, backed by morality and the law, regulated Sundays and resulted in a six-day workweek.[26] The Sabbath represented a "temporary release" from "the merciless routine of a never-ending chain of toil and drudgery."[27] Not surprisingly, tranquility and worship ideally reigned, and religious groups as well as governmental entities discouraged Sabbath breaking. Religious tracts held that death and damnation greeted those who desecrated the Sabbath, and if those arguments failed to encourage people to respect the Sabbath, most states passed and enforced laws designed to ensure the integrity of the Sabbath by punishing those who broke it.[28] With Sunday labor suspended, Americans spent the day at rest observing God in formal, clock-regulated religious services.[29]

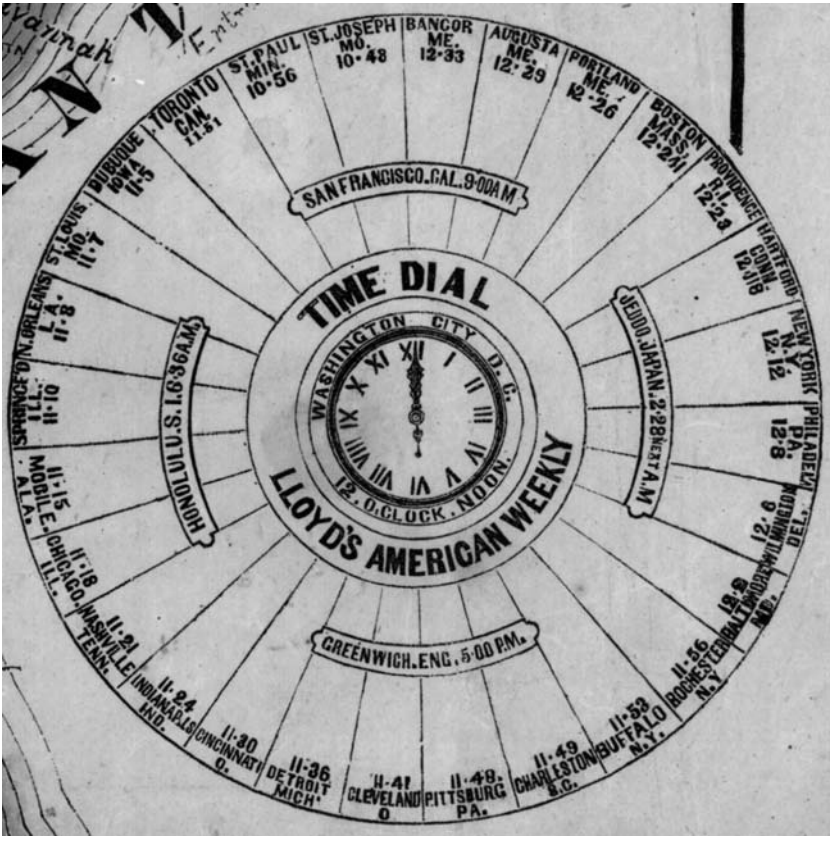
Finally, antebellum America also featured personal times. Individuals owned time through timepieces. Each individual set his or her own time, thus creating personal times and making clock time highly contingent and subject to alteration. Every town, village, hamlet, plantation, factory, and household set its own time. For example, Albany, New York, "was one minute and one second ahead of New York City; Baltimore was ten minutes and 27

seconds behind. Sacramento, California was three hours, nine minutes and 51 seconds earlier than New York City, but three minutes and 56 seconds later than San Francisco."[30] Before the Civil War, however, these differences mattered little, as people simply readjusted their timepieces to match local time as indicated by railroads or public clocks.

The creation and enforcement of Sabbath laws, the increasingly clock-driven structuring of society, the adjustments to accommodate nature, and the antebellum emphasis on time discipline suggest that Americans not only operated within a plurality of times but were progressing in their attempts to establish a punctual, orderly, and industrious antebellum society. The Civil War, however, disrupted this progression.

The war years introduced a new complicated time to the American people, as events on the battlefields impinged on, overrode, and rearranged antebellum schedules. Clocks and watches, modernity's symbols, lost some of the authority they had increasingly possessed in the antebellum era.[31] When the cannons were silent, clock time, in combination with God's time and natural time, organized society. However, booming cannons superseded watches' and clocks' ability to order society, and God's time became increasingly secular in the face of battle. A convoluted mixture of God's time, natural times, personal times, and clock times, battle time was a ruling time that created a temporal web within which soldiers fought. Battle time's ramifications extended beyond the battlefield, however, altering the established schedules of soldiers, nurses, civilians, and prisoners and forcing them to abandon the modernity of the clock and embrace, at least during the war, task orientation.

The introduction of battle time into American life reconfigured antebellum temporalities and brings into question the modern nature of the Civil War.[32] Battle time's ability to subordinate clock time certainly disrupted America's clock-driven linear trajectory toward modernity but may not necessarily represent a regression in that drive. Rather, battle time suggests a departure from America's clock-oriented drive toward modernity but not from the movement toward modernity as a whole. Battle time catapulted the United States forward in its quest to become a truly modern society in which time took on a reality of its own. During the Civil War, battle time became an embedded reality beyond the control of humans and clocks and



Time zones for Lloyd's Railroad, 1861. Before the advent of standard time zones in the late nineteenth century, time was multiple, from state to state and in some cases from town to town. *(Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)*

independent of other temporal considerations, emerging as the ultimate arbiter of time during the Civil War.

This book is divided into two sections. The first explores time on the battlefields by investigating the Union defeat at Bull Run and the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg, arguing that the Union and Confederate military complexes attempted to graft the antebellum authority of the clock onto the actual and mental terrain of the Civil War. Union and Confederate leaders often endeavored to mute the multiple and overlapping times of the antebellum era to create an orderly, precise, and modern war machine based on the clock, thus making timepieces essential for Civil War soldiers. Not surprisingly, then, most Civil War soldiers either brought or acquired timepieces during the conflict.[33]

Civil War commanders drew on their antebellum temporal experiences and attempted to run the war by the clock but discovered that clock time in combination with task orientation proved rather ineffective. Commanders were unable to make their men obey the ticks of the clock in the face of battle largely because no standard clock time existed. This lack of standard time had caused minor inconveniences for antebellum Americans but proved disastrous for both the Union and Confederate armies. Most orders had times attached, but there were no standards regarding what that time was—the local time of those issuing the orders or the local time of those receiving them. Consequently, an order marked for engagement at 9:00 A.M. issued from Washington, D.C., to Union forces in Texas, for example, encountered problems in implementation. Was the military activity to take place at 9:00 A.M. Washington time or 9:00 A.M. local time? With the movement of Civil War armies contingent on battle and the era's problematic communication system, military headquarters were often unaware of where armies were, so orders issued for implementation at specific times became complicated as armies moved through multiple time zones.

Soldiers attempted to readjust their timepieces by coordinating them with officers' watches or local time, but those benchmarks may "have been carelessly set from other clocks, or watches."[34] Other soldiers attempted to set their timepieces by noon marks—sticks set perpendicular to the

ground whose shadows could be used to determine the proper time—but variations in topography and weather largely rendered such attempts unsuccessful. Overall, the Union's and Confederacy's attempts to run the war by the clock largely failed.

The telegraph, an invention that collapsed time and space, seemed to be the solution. In the antebellum era, Americans embraced the time-saving elements of the telegraph and used it to "coordinate . . . civic, economic, and social affairs."[35] In theory, the telegraph would allow military commanders to conquer the problems created by multiple clock times by permitting the instantaneous transmission of information. In reality, however, the telegraph was anything but instantaneous. As postmaster general Alfred Vail pointed out in 1846, the speed of the transmission was contingent on the speed with which the information could be translated into Morse code.[36] Furthermore, difficulties could arise in the transmission of even brief messages, since both the Confederate and Union armies used intricate secret codes and ciphers to protect messages from enemy interception.[37] Hours if not days often elapsed before such elaborate messages could be deciphered and the information relayed to the proper authorities. Battles rarely occurred along established telegraph lines. For example, a ten-mile gap existed between the telegraph office at Fairfax Court House and the front at the Battle of Bull Run. As a result, couriers relayed battle reports and orders, most of which were outdated by the time they arrived.[38] On July 1, 1863, few northerners were aware of the battle raging in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, largely because the village lacked a telegraph system. More seriously, however, the armies at Chancellorsville were spread across a great distance and were for the most part out of range of the telegraph; consequently, for "crucial hours from the evening of 30 of April to the afternoon of 1 May, . . . the right wing of Major General Joseph Hooker's army" was without orders. Finally, most telegraph offices suffered from a "lack of synchronization between the sending and receiving units, [often] causing the receiver to end up with the wrong letter."[39] Overall, the telegraph complicated rather than remedied the multiple and often conflicting times of the battlefield.

Chapter 1 examines how General Irvin McDowell and the other Union commanders at Bull Run used the clock to implement the precise coordination and regulation an offensive victory demanded. Events on the Bull

Run battlefield, however, evolved along different unforeseeable paths, as personal times, natural times, God's time, and multiple clock times collided to disrupt the battle plan's clock-regulated orientation and subsequently help secure Union defeat and Confederate victory.

Chapter 2 turns to Gettysburg, where Confederate General Robert E. Lee opted to run his offensive attack without the help of the clock. His commanders nevertheless invoked the clock to organize their forces, and multiple times again intruded to alter the battle plan, to create confusion, and ultimately contributed to defeat. Furthermore, battle time rippled out to disrupt the lives of Gettysburg's inhabitants, forcing them to operate in a context created by battle. Work, leisure, slumber, meals, and indeed even night and day were reconfigured by events on the battlefields as battle time absorbed the authority of the clock and regulated all local activities.

The second part of this book explores battle time's influence away from the battlefields, where it reconfigured activities in camps, hospitals, and prisons, trumping all other times and forcing soldiers, prisoners, and nurses to embrace task orientation. Chapter 3 discusses how both the Union and the Confederacy tried to impose order and foster discipline and coordination in camps by establishing clock-regulated routines as defined by the commander's watch. But natural and religious times frequently undermined the clock's authority, and battle time dictated action and inaction and, with the conclusion of the war, the dismemberment of Civil War camps.

As in camps, battle time proved to be the ultimate authority in Civil War hospitals, the subject of chapter 4. In the face of battle, hospitals abandoned clock-regulated schedules and clock-generated gender roles. Instead, the relatively egalitarian battle time emerged, degendering hospitals by removing men's ability to schedule the time of women and making men and women subject to the same temporal master. With the conclusion of the war, however, female nurses reentered a gendered world in which men's time ordered women's time.

Chapter 5 discusses how battle time's reconfiguration of clock time also held true in Civil War prisons. While antebellum society had sought to create a disciplined, orderly, and industrious society, not all members behaved appropriately. Prison officials forced criminals to embrace habits of industry and time discipline through a combination of solitude, silence, and

labor. The South's racial situation complicated criminal prosecution. Because slaves did not own their time, their incarceration theoretically stripped southern masters of valuable labor time and thus profit. Consequently, the majority of slaves were punished and inculcated with habits of industry on southern plantations rather than in government-run prisons.

The rehabilitative nature of antebellum prisons disappeared during the Civil War, and the introduction of battle time disrupted the orderly and precise clock-regulated routines of Civil War prisons. As in camps and hospitals, battle time dictated action and inaction and thus eroded the authority of all other times. With the silencing of battle, however, penitentiaries returned to their antebellum mission and continued to use the clock to regiment the day as a way of encouraging America's progression toward clock-defined modernity.

Finally, the epilogue examines how the supremacy and reification of battle time evaporated after the war, as antebellum temporalities reemerged to order and regulate postbellum society. Men returned home and appealed to the clock to create order. Emancipation stripped masters of ownership of slaves' time, and African Americans recognized their ownership of time and used the language of time to negotiate clock-regulated working hours and wages, much as northern wage laborers did. Although the conclusion of the Civil War removed the hegemony of battle time, the clock did not fill the void, and Americans continued to operate in multiple times. These times, however, were increasingly based on the clock and, as such, illustrated a return to the clock-defined modernization processes disrupted by the Civil War.

TIME ON THE BATTLEFIELDS

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1

TIME LOST, TIME FOUND

The Confederate Victory at Manassas and the Union Defeat at Bull Run

"We shall see that not only every day of that delay, but even every hour of it, was essential to the Confederate victory which resulted."

CONFEDERATE COMMANDER E. P. ALEXANDER

"Watch in hand, they await[ed] the approach of the half hour, and as the last second of the last minute [was] marked on the dial plate," Captain George S. James "pull[ed] the lanyard; there [was] a flash of light and a ten inch shell trac[ed] its pathway towards Fort Sumter."[1] It was 4:30 A.M. on April 12, 1861, and it was the beginning of the Confederacy's barrage on Fort Sumter in South Carolina's Charleston Harbor. Thirty-three hours later, Robert Anderson surrendered Sumter, and the flag of South Carolina's Palmetto Guards replaced the Stars and Stripes as the Confederacy won the opening engagement of the Civil War. On April 15, President Abraham Lincoln responded by issuing a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to suppress the insurrection. At roughly the same time, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, having already issued a March 6 call for one hundred thousand volunteers, requested additional men. Both men and their armies had no trouble filling their enlistments. Ordinary men heeded the call to arms for cause and country and prepared to fight.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the Confederate States of America and the United States of America endeavored to mute the multiple and overlapping times of the antebellum era. The Union and Confederate military complexes were aware that "[t]ime pervade[d] all decision making in war" and "dictate[d] the design of weapons, the course of strategy, the organization of armed forces, . . . and the training of military leaders." Presidents Lincoln and Davis knew that "[t]emporal considerations dictate[d] military doctrines, and ultimately destroy[ed] them as well. Time [came] before, follow[ed] after, and order[ed] the sequence and tempo of military operations." Alert to the importance of temporal issues, the Union and the Confederacy tried to organize their war efforts and instill order among green troops by basing tasks on the clock. Although order was "the first law of armies" and soldiers were to be "so completely subordinated to the will of the commanding officers, as to move like clock-work," the pluralities of clock and natural times rendered Civil War armies largely disorganized and ill coordinated because officials appealed to a clock time that could not maintain order. In military conflicts generally and at Bull Run specifically, Civil War leaders attempted to impose a standard clock time where previously there had been numerous individual clock times. The resulting temporal dislocations were further complicated by the fact that clock time was not the only time that influenced the war's conduct.[2]

As in the antebellum era, clock time was one of many times. Natural time, God's time, personal times, clock times, and task orientation collided during battle, disrupting what leaders had intended to be the regular and clock-driven nature of battle and creating a reified sense of time. This temporal interpenetration resulted in battle time, which was beyond human control and was truly modern and which became a reality unto itself.

In the case of Bull Run, both the Union and Confederate military complexes set out to ensure the swift offensive victory for which their respective publics clamored by crafting a battle plan arranged by clock time and task orientation. Union General in Chief Winfield Scott, however, was uneasy about engaging in battle. Short-term enlistments, which had only a ninety-day duration, were lapsing: in that respect, Lincoln's planned engagement "was made too late rather than too soon." Scott "urged delay, and that the three months men be allowed to go, and their places supplied with the three

years men" recently enlisted. The timing of the Union's first major military endeavor also troubled Union Brigadier General Irvin McDowell. Like Scott, McDowell wanted and needed more time to perfect "the discipline and organization of the volunteers, who had not yet even been formed into brigades." Deaf to his commanders' pleas, Lincoln merely responded, "You are green, it is true; but they are green, also, you are green alike."[3]

Against his better judgment and under orders from Lincoln, Scott instructed McDowell to prepare a battle plan for Manassas Junction, Virginia, and to implement it on July 9, 1861. Although apprehensive, McDowell drafted such a plan, submitting it on June 24 and presenting it to Lincoln's cabinet five days later. According to the plan, all thirty thousand members of McDowell's Army of Northeastern Virginia were to move from their camps near Alexandria, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., and engage the twenty thousand men of Confederate General P. G. T. Beauregard's Army of the Potomac near Manassas Junction.[4] A portion of McDowell's force was to destroy the railroad link and thus Confederate communications between Richmond and Manassas. Union General Robert Patterson was to use his men stationed at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, to prevent Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston and the Army of the Shenandoah stationed at Winchester, Virginia, from reinforcing Beauregard's army. With this plan approved by Lincoln, Scott, and the cabinet, McDowell's troops were to deploy on July 8, but the day came and went without movement. The Union's far-flung resources, in combination with the troops' unruliness and disorder, delayed the Army of Northeastern Virginia's departure until July 16.[5]

While the Union organized troops and supplies, the Confederates, under immense public pressure to provide a grand victory, designed their own offensive battle plan. Beauregard proposed to crush the Union, capture Washington, D.C., and secure the Confederacy's future. On July 13, he submitted for President Davis's consideration a plan that called for Johnston to "unite as soon as possible the bulk of the Army of the Shenandoah with that of the Potomac . . . leaving only sufficient forces to garrison his strong works at Winchester, and to guard the fine defensive passes of the Blue Ridge, and thus hold General Patterson in check." Simultaneously, "Brigadier-General [Theophilus] Holmes was to march hither with all of his command not essential for the defense of the position of Acquia Creek." With the Federals'

approach on Fairfax Court House, these combined Confederate forces were to launch an offensive that would result in "the defeat and the destruction or capture" of McDowell's army. Having accomplished that, Beauregard proposed that Johnston, accompanied by part of Beauregard's forces, would fall "upon and crush Patterson with a superior force wheresoever he might be found." With McDowell and Patterson accounted for and defeated, the Confederate army would take Washington.[6] But although Davis had fired the first shot of the war at Fort Sumter, he was reluctant again to appear as the aggressor and consequently rejected Beauregard's plan. The Confederacy went about establishing defensive lines along Bull Run.

On July 16, the Union army began its march toward Manassas. Union Assistant Adjutant General William Woods Averill argued that "seasoned soldiers would have made the march to Centreville, [Virginia] twenty-one miles, the first day, and made their attacks early the next morning before the reinforcements under Johnston could have arrived."[7] McDowell's men, however, were not seasoned soldiers. Largely because Lincoln had not allowed Scott and McDowell time to train, organize, discipline, and teach their troops, the march took four days, providing the Confederates with the time and the opportunity to unite their forces and cement their defensive positions.

McDowell's men were "not soldiers but civilians in uniform unused to marching." Tired, undisciplined, "hot, weary, and footsore," their "[k]napsack[s], rifle[s], and blanket[s] became a grievous burden." In the words of Private Martin A. Haynes of the Second New Hampshire Regiment, "the heat and suffocating dust soon began to tell upon the men, not yet hardened for such a march. . . . [M]any were obliged to fall out of the ranks and seek shade and rest." "By each roadside brook the men fell out in numbers" to fill their canteens or to wet their throats. The troops abandoned the march "for water, blackberries, or anything else on the way they fancied." They stopped to enjoy "the cool shade of the surrounding woods." Among the members of the Seventy-ninth New York, bees rather than fruit or shade attracted attention: several men "scramble[d] for the honey," causing the air to turn " 'blue' with bees, curses, and imprecations" as the men "ran hither and thither trying to shake [them] off." According to Colonel William Tecumseh Sherman, these forays "demonstrated little save the general laxity of discipline" and the commanders' inability to maintain order, discipline, and temporal cohesion.[8]

The column, which was supposed to be temporally and physically unified and coordinated, fragmented as men refused to relinquish their sense of time and temporal ownership inculcated in the antebellum era. Prewar individuality premised on owning one's time was not consistent with military discipline. Upon enlisting, men effectively surrendered their time and republican independence to their commanders, yet on McDowell's march, men reasserted their antebellum temporal authority, fell out of line at their leisure, and in so doing introduced a plurality of personal times into the war.

In addition to these differing perceptions of temporal ownership, McDowell's march suffered from apprehension. In 1861, Federal forces in Virginia fell victim to "masked batteries" at engagements near Vienna and at Big Bethel, near Fortress Monroe. According to McDowell, the "affair at Big Bethel and Vienna had created a great outcry against rushing into places that people did not know about." Indeed, the memory of such surprise ambushes "caused hesitation in regard to advancing up points concerning which there was a want of information." This certainly held true for McDowell. With past events fresh in his mind, McDowell issued a July 17 order stating that "it would not be pardonable for any commander . . . [t]o come upon a battery or breastwork without a knowledge of its position." This order further slowed the already sluggish march, which had covered a meager six miles the day before. Commanders subsequently proceeded with "excessive caution which consumed the day in making an advance scarcely over five miles" on July 17.[9] The temporal multiplicities—clock times, personal times, natural times, and times open to interpretation—of McDowell's march, combined with Lincoln's refusal to accord McDowell enough time to train his men, contributed to the march's aggravatingly slow pace.

By July 18, McDowell and the Army of Northeastern Virginia reached Centreville, within six miles of Beauregard's defensive line along Bull Run. Because of the inefficiency of the march and his army's lack of battle experience, McDowell jettisoned a frontal attack. Instead, at 8:15 A.M., he looked at his watch and instructed Brigadier General Daniel Tyler's brigade to advance on Blackburn's Ford and cross Bull Run to "keep up the impression that we are moving on Manassas" and hopefully to test Beauregard's right flank. Tyler and his men reached Centreville, where they discovered the Confederates in retreat toward Blackburn's Ford. Under Tyler's order, Colonel Israel Richardson advanced his brigade down the Manassas-Centreville road. By

Confederate Brigadier General James Longstreet's watch, at 11:30 A.M. his pickets "reported the enemy advancing upon the ford in heavy columns of infantry and a strong artillery force" in an attempt to cross at Blackburn's Ford. Despite explicit instructions not to "bring on an engagement," Tyler, perhaps in an attempt to gauge the strength of the Confederate force, unleashed his six cannons on the Confederates stationed at Mitchell's and Blackburn's Fords. This attack elicited no response from the Confederates. As of noon, Longstreet, not wishing to reveal either his position or the strength of his force, remained silent. Tyler, however, ordered three companies of the First Massachusetts regiment to proceed into the woods edging Blackburn's Ford.[10]

Lincoln's and Davis's failures to give their commanders sufficient time to prepare their troops now became apparent. In their rush to battle, both sides neglected standardized uniforms. Several Confederate regiments wore gray, as did several Union regiments. In the woods, the gray-clad First Massachusetts Volunteers encountered the gray-clad members of the First Virginia. Hesitant to fire on men perceived to be their allies, the Massachusetts men approached the Virginians, who realized that they were encountering the enemy, opened fire, and then retreated across the ford.[11]

While Tyler moved cannon into place, Longstreet reorganized his forces. A firefight ensued, and again the troops' lack of training emerged. The topography required Union soldiers to fire their muskets while prone, but the men had never practiced this skill, and most consequently were unable to engage in the battle. A number of companies fell back. A firefight between Longstreet's men and the remaining Federals continued. According to Tyler, "from 3:15 until 4 o'clock," Federal cannons fired 415 shots, which were "answered by the enemies batteries, gun for gun." The engagement ended when Tyler retreated to Centreville.[12]

Tyler's reconnaissance certainly attracted more attention than McDowell had intended. The firefight at Blackburn's Ford suggested an imminent major battle between McDowell's and Beauregard's forces. Unbeknownst to the Union, at 1 A.M. on July 18 Davis had sent Johnston a telegraph "informing [him] that the Northern army was advancing upon Manassas, then held by Gen. Beauregard, and directing [him], if practicable, to go to that officer's assistance, after sending [the] sick to Culpepper Courthouse." Davis's failure

to provide a time frame for these orders could have proven disastrous, but Johnston decided that the only "practicable" way to join Beauregard was to leave the sick and wounded at Winchester since the "delay of sending the sick, nearly seventeen hundred in number, to Culpepper, would have made it impossible to arrive at Manassas in time." Taking the initiative, Johnston disobeyed this portion of Davis's order, leaving the sick and wounded at Winchester and marching his troops toward Manassas.[13]

The same disorderly conduct that plagued McDowell's march beleaguered Johnston. In the Confederate general's words, the "discouragement of the day's march to one accustomed, like myself, to the steady a gait of regular soldiers, is indescribable." The stops were so frequent and the delays so unreasonable that Johnston feared that he would not reach Beauregard "in time to aid him."[14] The railroad provided the solution. Despite Patterson's claim that "the enemy has stolen no march upon me," Johnston and most of his Army of the Shenandoah gave Patterson the slip and began arriving by rail to reinforce Beauregard "about noon on the 20th of July." Difficulties in securing reliable and efficient rail transportation from Winchester detained roughly five thousand of Johnston's troops, however.[15]

Unaware of Confederate activities and with the enemy alerted to his impending maneuvers, McDowell ordered an attack. Having tested the Confederate forces at Blackburn's Ford and discovered the strength of their center and right flank, McDowell planned to ambush the Confederate left. Fearing a repeat of events at Vienna and Big Bethel, McDowell attempted to secure information about the route before engaging his army, thereby slowing the process and, in Beauregard's opinion, giving the Confederates "time for the arrival of some of General Johnston's forces." Indeed, it "was not until Saturday [July 20] that the information which General McDowell desired was obtained." McDowell's supply train finally caught up with the army on the same day, and fortified with information and supplies, McDowell ordered his commanders to ready their men "for a decisive attack upon the enemy's line of defence, to be made simultaneously by three advancing columns." The entire army was to be ready to "start at six o'clock on Saturday afternoon." His commanders, however, rebelled at the notion, arguing that "it would be more convenient . . . to remain in camps that afternoon and night, and to march a couple of hours earlier in

the morning say at 2:30 A.M."[16] Instead of asserting the temporal authority he rightly commanded as head of the Federal forces, McDowell allowed his commanders to bargain for time; in so doing, he created a plurality of times as well as debates over who controlled military time. In the end, McDowell relinquished control of the clock and in the process let valuable hours slip away.

On the evening of Saturday, July 20, McDowell issued General Order 22. It called for a three-pronged attack coordinated by the clock, with success hinging on regiments functioning within a monolithic time. Tyler's first division, excluding Richardson's brigade, was to "move at 2:30 A.M. precisely on the Warrenton Turnpike to threaten the passage of the bridge, but [not to] open fire until full daybreak." On Tyler's signal, the artillery was to open fire and "divert attention from the movements of the turning column." Colonel David Hunter's Second Division was to start at 2:00 A.M., and Colonel Samuel P. Heintzelman's division was "to march at 2:30 A.M."[17] The clock, which normally scheduled church services and defined hours of worship, was on this Sunday earmarked for the work of war. Battle usurped God's time as the clock coordinated the soldiers' movements and space was navigated through time.

After Tyler's division cleared the way, Hunter's was, "after passing Cub Run, [to] turn to the right and pass the Bull Run stream above the lower ford at Sudley Springs, and then, turn down to the left, descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and brigade." Heintzelman's Third Division was to "follow the road taken by the Second Division but . . . cross at the lower ford, after it has been turned as above, and then, going to the left, take place between the stream and second division." According to Major John G. Barnard of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "the head of Hunter's division should be at the turn off at early daylight or about 4 A.M., and that it should reach Sudley by 6 or 7."[18]

While the Union plan was precise, well crafted, and well timed, its implementation was a disaster as a result of the intervention of multiple times beyond the clock. Commanders were unable to make these multiple times and men abide by the clock but planned as if clock time was hegemonic. McDowell ordered Tyler to depart at 2:30 A.M., but Tyler misjudged the amount of time necessary to prepare his troops for movement. Believing

that his men had been inculcated with a stern sense of time discipline and were responsive to the ticks of the clock, he sounded the reveille at precisely 2:00 A.M. and ordered his division to depart half an hour later. The men, however, possessed a sense of time different from their general's perception, and Tyler's desired hegemony fragmented into pluralities. The previous night, General Richardson had argued that it was "impossible . . . to move an army of regular troops under two hours, and [that it would] take at least that time to move volunteers; and if reveille is not beaten before two in the morning [the troops] cannot get into action at daylight; it is impossible."[19]

Richardson's prophecy came true. Lacking proper training and experience, the men "were difficult to organize and get on the road at such an early hour." They lost valuable time gathering their belongings and, according to Barnard, Colonel Oliver Otis Howard, and Captain George M. Finch, departed at 3:00 A.M. Tyler's division then failed to make up for its lost time, taking "three hours to travel the four miles to the bridge." Part of the problem was Colonel Erasmus D. Keyes's column of Tyler's division, which "got in rear of one of the following divisions and caused a halt in the march until it could move up."[20]

Natural time also contributed to the division's difficulties: Captain George M. Finch recalled that the darkness was "so intense that, literally, you could not see your hand before your face. We had to feel our way, keeping up our alignment at right angles with the road as best we could, by the voice of the next man on the right. We never knew where a fence or a tree was located in front of us, until we ran slap against it." Because Tyler lacked cavalry, his eyes were closed to "all beyond the sight of the leading column"; consequently, he feared "being ambushed." The result was an excruciatingly slow advance.[21]

When Tyler finally reached Cub Run, he discovered that it "had been obstructed by the Southerners with trees" and that the bridge over which the division was to pass appeared unstable. While some of Brigadier General Robert C. Schenck's men concentrated on clearing the road, others attempted to roll the "huge Parrott gun . . . onto the planking [of the bridge]. It stuck. Time passed as they struggled to clear it away." By J. G. Barnard's watch, Tyler's division finally cleared Cub Run at 5:30 A.M., two and a half hours after their departure.[22]

Tyler finally arrived in front of the Stone Bridge with Schenck and Sherman's brigades, which included Captain Romeyn B. Ayres and Captain J. K. Carlisle's batteries, "about 6 A.M. [and] fired the first gun at 6.30 A.M." Longstreet, however, claimed that Tyler's "first shells went tearing through the elements over the heads of the Confederates before six o'clock." The multiple clock times in which the battle functioned no doubt contributed to the tardiness of Tyler's division, the postponement of his dawn attack, and the subsequent problems with Hunter and Heintzelman's clock-regulated orders by complicating and confusing what was to be a unified movement conducted in a standard time. The "delay also gave the enemy time to discover the turning movement."[23] Union officials clearly failed to inscribe clock time—the symbol of efficiency and talisman of northern modernity—on to the messy reality of the Civil War.

Hunter's division also experienced problems. In Union soldier John W. Urban's opinion, had "the Union force consisted of old and tired soldiers, and all the division brigades and regiments . . . been led by experienced officers," the offensive would have commenced "by at least seven o'clock," but the newness of the troops and "the inexperience of the officers" delayed all the commanders. According to Union soldier Elisha Hunt Rhodes of the Second Rhode Island Regiment, the time issues that plagued Tyler's departure did not beset Hunter: the drums were beat at 2:00 A.M., and "in ten minutes" Hunter's men were on the road to Bull Run. Multiple times once again fragmented what was to be clock-driven nature of the offensive.

Hunter's division fell further behind the schedule that McDowell had envisioned by changing the route of the march to avoid obstructions as well as detection by Confederate forces. Rhodes related that Tyler's regiments clogged the turnpike and that the woods were "obstructed by wagons and troops that had failed to start on time." Furthermore, arguing that the left branch of the route might reveal the troops' position to the Confederates, Hunter's guide opted to take the right branch. While both roads eventually converged, the right route added several extra miles and consequently extra time. During this detour, the men behaved badly, amusing "themselves with laughter and jokes, with occasional stops for berries." Inexperienced officers and troops again cost Hunter valuable time, and the head of Hunter's

division did not arrive at Sudley's Ford until 9:30 A.M. by Barnard's timepiece. Time, Barnard believed, "in great measure thwarted our plan."[24]

Heintzelman's deployment also suffered from delays that resulted in the loss of precious time. According to Heintzelman's report, his division embarked "precisely at the hour fixed [but did not reach] Sudley's Church or Bull Run, near the church, [until] about 11 o'clock in the morning." Lieutenant Colonel Addison Farnsworth of the Thirty-eighth New York Infantry acknowledged, however, that the march was to have gotten under way by 2:30 A.M. but "was not commenced until 6 o'clock."[25] Whenever he departed, Heintzelman found himself waylaid behind Tyler. Heintzelman's "guide failed to find any road on which to turn off so the division followed Hunter all the way to Sudley's Ford," in the process waiting three hours for General Tyler's divisions to pass. According to Captain Daniel P. Woodbury of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Heintzelman's troops did not reach Sudley's Ford until 9:30 A.M.[26]

In sum, McDowell's three-pronged offensive was, in the words of William Tecumseh Sherman, "one of the best-planned . . . and one of the worst-fought."[27] For success, the attack required precise coordination and tight temporal control. Multiple forces had to act as one to ensure success. But the temporal precision and dedication to order required for the success of such an attack were absent, and McDowell's plan lay in shambles. Heintzelman's middle prong had been essentially removed and forced to join Hunter's forces. Hunter, in turn, engaged in a frontal offensive without the aid of a flanking force.

The Confederates also created a clock-regulated offensive battle plan. Beauregard issued orders at 4:30 A.M. on July 21 by Johnston's account but at 5:00 A.M. by Longstreet's watch. This half-hour temporal dislocation foreshadowed problems to come. Regardless of precisely when Beauregard issued the orders, the goal was clear: "a complete victory for [the Confederacy] by 12 M." Brigadier Generals Richard Ewell and Theophilus Holmes were to attack the Union left at Union Mills Ford, while Brigadier Generals David R. Jones and Barnard Bee and Colonels Jubal Early and Francis Bartow were to attack the Union left from McLean's Ford. Longstreet and Brigadier General Thomas Jonathan Jackson were to follow the engaged

column, and the remaining Confederate forces were to engage the Union center and the right flank.[28]

However, Beauregard issued his orders "long after McDowell's army was in motion." "The early movements of the enemy . . . and the non-arrival of the expected troops" combined with difficult topography to prevent the battle plan's execution and to force Beauregard to reconfigure his offensive strategy. At 5:00 A.M., Brigadier General M. L. Bonham informed Beauregard that the Federals were moving against the Confederate left. In response, Beauregard issued new orders to his brigade commanders at 5:30 with the belief that the movement would be under way by 7:30 at the latest. Ewell was to hold himself "in readiness to take the offensive on Centerville at a moment's notice, to make a diversion against the enemy's intended attack on Mitchell's ford." While Beauregard forged ahead with his offensive strategy as the key to winning the battle, General Johnston believed that a defensive strategy better suited the situation: an offensive was "impracticable" because the "battle ensued [at] different . . . places," at different times, and with different "circumstances from any previous plan on our side."[29] Johnson's defensive strategy prevailed as the Union army's movements vetoed an offensive attack.

With the Union's offensive strategy in ruins, the Confederacy's defensive strategy should have gone smoothly. Coordination, temporal precision, and unity of action were less important to more stationary defensive forces responding to attacking forces. But the defenders participated in multiple times contingent on the timing of attacks, and the intrusion of such multiple times complicated what should have been an uncomplicated battle for the Confederates.

Beauregard's 4:30 A.M. orders were not fully countermanded, and unbeknownst to the general, half of his Confederate forces launched an attack while the other half did not, thus disrupting the desired regimentation and clock-driven nature of the battle plan. The malfunction of Beauregard's timepiece further complicated and fragmented his plan. According to quartermaster I. M. Hatch, at some point during the battle, Beauregard's watch stopped, and Hatch "was requested to deliver the watch to a watchmaker for repairs. On examining it, the artisan found nothing the matter beyond a jar or shock, and immediately set it a going. On delivering

General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson's pocket watch. Watches, such as Jackson's, were used by Civil War commanders to attempt to coordinate troop movements. *(Courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.)*

the watch back to General Beauregard, Col. Hatch remarked, 'General, your watch, like yourself cannot run under fire.' "[30] Given that Beauregard's orders continued to have times attached to them and given the distance between Bull Run and Richmond, Beauregard seems to have borrowed a timepiece and continued to conduct the battle. The new timepiece, however, may have been inaccurate, thus accounting for the conflicting times reported by Beauregard's commanders.

Beauregard's 4:30 A.M. directive ordered Ewell, supported by Holmes, to prepare to either "support the attack upon Centreville or move in the direction of Sangster's Cross-Roads, according to circumstances." Beauregard mistakenly assumed that Ewell had crossed Bull Run and remained in readiness on the south side of the creek and that Holmes was reinforcing Ewell. Although Beauregard claimed that Jones's 5:30 A.M. orders were "sent about 8 h A.M.," Jones received them at 7:10 A.M. Multiple clock times were clearly at work. The directives informed Jones that Ewell was "to take the offensive upon Centerville" and to "follow the movement at once by attacking [the enemy] in your front." In an attempt to coordinate the offensive,

Jones dispatched a message to Ewell but did not receive "a prompt reply." Jones consequently "took position with [his] artillery in battery on Union Mills road," where he "awaited the advance of General Ewell for about two and a half hours at the end of which time" he received a 10:30 A.M. order from Beauregard to resume the former position.[31]

Although Beauregard ordered Ewell to advance with Holmes's support between 7:00 and 8:00 A.M., neither general received such an order. Although Ewell's aide-de-camp, Major Campbell Brown, recognized that time "was all important," Beauregard did not and ordered a single messenger "not to go directly to Ewell but first to make a detour to Holmes, who lay in reserve nearly two miles" away. The messenger disappeared and "was never heard of after receiving the order." Slightly before 10:30 A.M., Ewell sent Lieutenant Fitzhugh Lee to "inquire of Gen. R. D. Jones . . . if Jones had any new orders. . . . Jones said that he had understood Ewell also was to cross." Once aware of the lost order, Ewell alerted Beauregard and requested permission to "throw his troops over Bull Run and . . . advance on Centerville," but Beauregard believed that too much time had been lost. He reasoned that a minimum of three hours would be required "for the troops to get into position for attack." It was simply "too late," and Beauregard abandoned his noon deadlines.[32]

At 11:30 A.M., Beauregard countermanded the "movement of the right and center already begun by Jones and Longstreet." Longstreet, however, had never engaged in such movement because he was pursuing his 4:30 A.M. orders. Holmes, having received his 5:30 A.M. directives "about 9 o'clock," immediately moved into position, only to return to his original position two hours later. Only Early and General Philip St. George Cocke were in the positions headquarters believed the troops had assumed. Early's men were stationed in such a way as to afford Longstreet and Jones the luxury of support, while Cocke's forces were holding "at the last extremity on the defensive." These temporal cleavages between headquarters and field commanders placed the "columns of attack on the right . . . utterly at cross-purposes. Cocke was on the defensive, Jackson was marching to the left center to support Cocke, and only Early, at a new position, was in reserve."[33]

The disarray and paralyzing confusion of the right flank extended to the left. At 8:45 A.M., Confederate Captain Edward Porter Alexander's eye caught

the sun's reflection on "a brass cannon in McDowell's flanking column approaching Sudley Ford." Alexander informed Colonel Nathan Evans, commander of a small force on the extreme left of Beauregard's line at Stone Bridge, to "look out for your left; you are turned." Without waiting for orders, Evans split his brigade and sent word to Beauregard and Cocke. Having "no instructions to guide him in that emergency that had arisen," Evans ordered four of his companies to form "a line of battle at right angles to [the] former line." At 10:30 A.M., McDowell ordered Tyler to "press the attack" at Stone Bridge. Tyler however, failed to relay this order to his brigade commanders, and it was not "until 12 M. that General Sherman received [the] order . . . to cross the stream . . . and join in pressing Bee back across the valley of Young's Branch." This delay gave Evans enough time to ensure the proper placement of his troops. Evans "not only repulsed but pursued" Tyler's attack and in so doing stopped McDowell's flanking maneuver and, in the opinion of Confederate Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, "gave time for his superiors to alter their dispositions and bring up the reserves."[34] Beauregard had enough time to realize that the fight was on his left rather than in his front, as expected.

The remainder of Evans's force tangled with Union forces on Matthew's Hill while Bee and Bartow's regiments waited on Henry Hill for instructions. When Union forces attacked, these Confederate troops joined in the fray on Matthew's Hill. Outnumbered and outfought, the Confederates retreated to Henry Hill at 11:30 A.M. by Jackson's watch and Beauregard's official report, continuing to engage the Federals. Because of a "lull in the infantry firing [that] took place a few minutes after one o'clock, and continued [for] half of an hour," McDowell mistakenly assumed that the Confederates were whipped and rode through his lines shouting, "Victory! Victory! The day is ours." By Union soldier Warren Lee Goss's watch, the guns fell silent and victory seemed secure about noon, whereas Rhodes placed the hour of victory at 3:00 P.M.[35] The temporal hegemony that McDowell assumed to exist did not. Time was multiple and fragmented.

Working under the assumption that the Confederate forces were broken and scattered, McDowell did not pursue them. Instead, he ordered both "[Captain James Brewerton] Rickett's and [Colonel Charles] Griffin's batteries to cease firing and move across the turnpike to the top of Henry Hill

and take position on the west side of the house." Had McDowell seized the opportunity and continued to assail the Confederates, the Union undoubtedly would have carried the day. Union soldier Henry Blake recognized that this "blundering delay" gave the Rebels ample time "to re-organize their shattered ranks." According to John D. Imboden, the delay allowed the enemy to "arrange [a] new line of battle on the highest crest of the hill" and offer firm resistance when the offensive was resume.[36] In short, waiting cost McDowell his victory.

While Bee's, Bartow's, and Evans's Confederate forces scrambled to regroup, Beauregard and Johnston, following Ewell's failed attack, directed Holmes, Early, and two regiments of Bonham's men to converge and support Evans's, Bee's, and Bartow's units on Henry Hill. Jackson joined them around noon, and Beauregard and Johnston arrived shortly thereafter. At the same time Sherman, followed by Keyes, crossed Bull Run above the Stone Bridge to reinforce Hunter's forces. Noon also saw the five-thousand-strong remainder of Johnston's Army of the Shenandoah arrive at Manassas Junction under the command of E. Kirby Smith and begin moving toward Henry Hill, where Union and Confederate troops were fiercely engaged.[37]

The inability to distinguish the enemy augmented the general confusion of battle. About 2:00 P.M., J. E. B. Stuart's cavalry forces came upon a column of retreating soldiers "dressed in scarlet caps and trousers, blue jackets with quantities of gilt buttons, and white gaiters. . . . Waving his saber, Stuart ordered a charge, but instantly pulled up and called a halt and turning" asked his aide, W. W. Blackford, if the men were Confederates or Federals. Blackford could not tell: "Beauregard had a regiment of Zouaves from New Orleans, dressed . . . like these men." Assuming that they were Confederates, Stuart allowed them to proceed but subsequently discovered that the regiment carried a U.S. flag. Stuart then attacked, but valuable time had been lost.[38]

At 3:30 P.M., another case of mistaken identity permitted the Confederates to gain valuable ground and perhaps the victory. Two Union artillery batteries were firing on the Confederate line from near the Henry House when a blue-clad regiment entered the line of fire from the extreme right. Assuming that the regiment was Union forces, the artillery stopped firing, and Griffin and artillery chief William Farquhar Barry argued about whether

the regiment was Rebel or Federal. During those few precious minutes, the blue-clad Thirty-third Virginia Regiment approached within point-blank range of Rickett's and Griffin's batteries and decimated their artillery and horses.[39] With his guns silenced, McDowell scrambled to reorganize his troops for a final offensive.

At the same time, Union regiments continued to assail Henry Hill, and the Seventy-ninth and Sixty-ninth New York Regiments helped the Confederate war effort by firing on the gray-clad members of the Second Wisconsin and driving them back to the base of the hill. At 3:30 P.M. by Johnston and Confederate Colonel Henderson's recollections but 4:00 by Colonel Cadeus Marcellus Wilcox's watch, McDowell gathered the scattered fragments of his army and organized a new line along Young's Branch for yet another battle just as Kirby Smith's brigades arrived to reinforce the Confederate left. McDowell recaptured the hill, but the Confederates regrouped, charged the Union line, punctured the enemy's center, and sent thirteen Union regiments scurrying back to Sudley Road and Young's Branch.[40]

Although the hill appeared lost, the battle was not, and McDowell began to organize on a different front. With the Confederates extending their left flank across Sudley Road to Chinn's Ridge, McDowell issued a 3:00 P.M. order for Colonel Oliver Howard's brigade "to support Rickett's battery" and to challenge that line. At the same time, Johnston ordered Early to "move to [the] extreme left" of the Confederate line "and attack the enemy on their right." While Early carried out his orders, Howard's men, more than a mile away, did not. The day's oppressive heat exhausted the troops, and a number of men fainted along the way. Howard's brigade did not arrive until around 4:00 and by then was only at half strength. The cacophony of battle prevented some of Howard's commanders from hearing a command for the right wing of the Fifth Maine to fall back. Instead, the entire regiment fell back, and Howard's remaining three regiments retreated, leaving the U.S. Regular Infantry and Second New Hampshire Regiment alone to battle the Confederates.[41]

Smith's brigade, now led by Colonel Arnold Elzey, turned the Federal right flank and drove Howard's and Sherman's men back. The initiative succeeded, perhaps in part because of this sudden movement, which coincided with Early's attack on that same flank, and perhaps in part because of the

bone-chilling rebel yell that accompanied it. Early's and Elzey's troops not only drove back those Federals defending Chinn's Ridge but also collapsed the entire right wing of McDowell's army.[42]

The Union army fell into chaos. By Confederate General Johnston's watch, the Confederate victory was sealed at 4:40 P.M., as "wild panic . . . seized and shook to pieces the Union army at Bull Run, scattering its disorganized fragments through woods and fields and by-ways, and filling the roads with broken wagons, and knapsacks and small arms"—and bodies. Union troops devolved into a "confused mass," with each man "seemingly bent on looking out for number one and letting the rest do the same." In Blackford's words, the field at Bull Run "was a confused swarm of men, like bees, running away as fast as their legs could carry them, with all order and organization abandoned."[43]

According to McDowell, the Union defeat occurred because the men lacked food and "had been up since 2 o'clock in the morning and had made what to those unused to such things seemed a long march before coming into action." Edmund C. Stedman, a correspondent for the *New York World,* believed that the Union defeat occurred because there "was no real generalship in the field. There was no one mind of the Napoleonic order, at once centralizing and comprehending the entire movement of the day." For Union Colonel Thomas A. Davis, the blame rested squarely on lack of training rather than quality of the leadership. The troops

> were raw; the men had been accustomed to look to their colonels as the only men to give them commands. They had never been taught the succession of officers, which is necessary to understand upon the battlefield. They did not understand the command devolving in succession upon the colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, and the captains, in their order of rank. The officers did not themselves know what to do; they themselves raw and green. Every man went to do his duty, and knew nothing about anybody else. When the colonels were killed, or wounded, the subordinate officers did not know what to do, or their men did not know whether to obey them or not. When they lost their commanding officers, or those to whom they had alone been instructed to look for commands, they supposed they had the right to leave the field.

Colonel William W. Averell echoed Davis's criticism, finding "want of discipline in" the troops responsible for the Union's rout. Major Barry blamed both the "uninstructed, raw, and green troops, [and the] indolent officers."[44]

For Captain Woodbury, the Union's premature engagement in battle secured its defeat. The Union simply had not taken the time to train its troops:

> The old soldier feels safe in the ranks, unsafe out of the ranks, and the greater the danger the more pertinaciously he clings to his place. The volunteer of three months never attains this instinct of discipline. Under danger and even under mere excitement, he flies away from his rank and hopes for safety in dispersion. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st there were more than twelve thousand volunteers on the battle-field of Bull Run who had entirely lost their regimental organization. They could no longer be handled as troops, for the officers and men were not together. Men and officers mingled together promiscuously and it is worthy of remark that this disorganization did not result from defeat or fear, for up to four o'clock we had been uniformly successful. The instinct of discipline which keeps every man in his place had not been acquired. We cannot suppose that the enemy had attained a higher degree of discipline than our own, but they acted on the defensive and were not equally exposed to disorganization.[45]

Perhaps the best articulation of the Union defeat came from John Russell Howe of the *Philadelphia Press.* The causes of defeat "appear[ed] to be these: a premature advance on the enemy without sufficient force, which may be attributed to the clamors of politicians and newspapers like the New York *Tribune;* the negligence of General Patterson in not intercepting General Johnston at Winchester and preventing him from joining Beauregard at Manassas; the want of an efficiency of many of the officers; the want of proper discipline among the volunteers, and the general panic which seized upon our forces in the latter part of the action." According to Longstreet, the Union military complex generally and General McDowell specifically had failed to recognize that "time was power."[46] McDowell had failed to graft clock discipline onto his commanders and civilian soldiers. In the face of chaos and without suitable guidance, personal times disrupted the

clock, as soldiers repossessed their temporal independence and retreated. Yet the Union military complex continued to run the war as if such grafting had been successful and as if soldiers participated as cohesive units in one unified time.

More than four hours behind schedule and with more than three hours of daylight remaining, it seemed that the Confederate army was poised to march on and capture Washington, D.C. That was certainly Jackson's wish: according to Colonel John S. Mosby, Jackson shouted, "We have whipped them! They ran like sheep! Give me 5000 men and I will be in Washington City tomorrow morning." Jackson's voice was in the minority, however; in General Johnston's words, the Confederate army "was more disorganized by victory than that of the United States by defeat." Having fought "against uncommon odds, under a July sun, most of the time without water and without food except a hastily-snatched scanty meal at dawn," Beauregard believed that the Confederate army was "not in a condition for the toil of an eager, effective pursuit of an enemy immediately after the battle." The Confederate army was "almost as demoralized as the vanquished."[47]

Natural time conspired to obstruct any Confederate movement toward Washington, D.C. On the morning of July 22, "an unusually heavy and unintermitting fall of rain intervened to obstruct" any attempted Confederate advance. Even in the absence of rain, the Confederate forces "had neither the food nor transportation at Manassas necessary to a forward movement."[48]

The First Battle of Bull Run thus ended without either side achieving its desired war-ending victory. The Confederacy soundly routed the Union, but the victory threw the Confederacy into chaos. Washington and Richmond were temporarily safe, largely because both sides misjudged the amount of time necessary to prepare, drill, organize, and deploy their soldiers. Both sides co-opted the authority of the clock in an attempt to coordinate troops and instill in them a clock-consciousness and a sense of time discipline. Commanders failed in their attempts to inscribe clock time onto the messy reality of the Civil War yet proceeded as if such attempts had succeeded. Not surprisingly, the desired order collapsed into chaos as clock time fragmented and natural, personal, and conflicting military times interrupted and overthrew attempts to create a ruling clock time. Ironically, the actions on the battlefield created a ruling time, but this battle time failed

to direct action on the battlefield. Nevertheless, like a rock dropped into a pond, the residual effects of battle time would subsequently ripple out to influence and direct actions off the battlefield: booming cannons obscured the ticks of the clock and disrupted Civil War camps, hospitals, prisons, and, especially in the case of the battle of Gettysburg, the home front.

2

"AN HOUR TOO LATE"

The Confederate Defeat at Gettysburg

"From the first to the last, each move was made just an hour too late and this is the story of Gettysburg."
CONFEDERATE LIEUTENANT JOHN CHEVES HASKELL

By July 1863, public hopes in both the United States and the Confederacy for a short war had dissipated. The mighty offensive victory thought so easily attainable in 1861 remained elusive. With thousands dead, wounded, and imprisoned, public support for war was wavering, and peace organizations gained momentum. U.S. President Abraham Lincoln attempted to counter such movements by introducing the Emancipation Proclamation, an order designed to garner favor with foreign nations and to inject moral purpose into the Union cause rather than to free the slaves. Southern belles schooled in the arts of domesticity, demureness, and delicacy rioted for bread in the streets of Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Civilians, once so anxious to enlist for the glory of the cause, were now conscripted into an inadequately supplied and morally dejected Confederate army that lacked shoes, uniforms, and food but more importantly had lost the mighty Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville. In light of these events, Confederate President Jefferson Davis and General Robert E. Lee desperately needed a decisive offensive victory to reinvigorate the war effort, possibly gain European recognition, and ideally secure the independence of the Confederacy. Gettysburg almost became that battle, but, as Confederate Lieutenant John

Cheves Haskell put it, "from the first to the last, each move was made just an hour too late."[1]

As Bull Run illustrated, offensive drives require coordination, accuracy, and temporal unity of action. At Gettysburg, such harmony was essential for Confederate victory but unnecessary for the Union to prevail. Although Union forces certainly suffered from temporal dislocations, they were of minimal importance because the Union did not initiate the attacks but instead responded to them. As a result, promptness, clock-dependent time consciousness, and temporal coordination were less important to Union forces at Gettysburg than to the Confederate troops, for whom these temporal issues were vital. The Confederates' offensive victory hinged on coordination, punctuality, precision, and ultimately a hegemonic or unified sense of time. The Confederacy lacked all four as what should have been unified action was instead conducted within multiple parameters set by nature, humans, and the clock. Commanders lost control of the clock, causing clock time to lose its authority to order action. The military precision and coordination essential for a Confederate victory fragmented into multiple and often conflicting times, yet out of this temporal chaos emerged a new time. On the home front, battle time accomplished what it could not on the battlefields. At Gettysburg, battle time rippled out to disrupt the antebellum schedules of Gettysburg's residents and became the ultimate arbiter of time.

On the Confederate side, Lee largely manufactured the temporal conflicts that plagued his forces at Gettysburg. He assumed that his commanders perceived and applied time in the same fashion as he did. According to Prussian military strategist Carl Von Clausewitz, "there are no hard and fast rules that govern the conduct of war; it is the presence of the commander that decisively influences the course of events." Lee was responsible for orchestrating "the actions of a large and complex organization under the most difficult circumstances and . . . impos[ing] his will on people with whom he ha[d] little or no direct contact. . . . [H]e must get them to act as he would wish even though he cannot know all the situations they will face." Lee needed to know where all parts of his army were or were supposed to be, but at Gettysburg, he lacked this knowledge. Instead of coordinating his military, he left the matters "up to God and the subordinate officers" and as a result failed to synchronize his army.[2]

Ill suited to the situation, Lee's attack strategy illustrated the "dissonance between what he knew to be the proper strategy" and what he did. "Intent on keeping the details of his plans secret from the Richmond authorities," Lee "was reluctant to share them with his principal subordinate commanders." Despite "an engineer's love of precision," Lee rarely issued exact or detailed written orders but instead provided his field commanders with cryptic, vague, and poorly defined instructions that lacked strict time sequences or deadlines. He often refused to issue direct orders specifying times of attack but instead left the timing up to subordinates. According to Longstreet, for example, Lee never "on any occasion order[ed] me to attack, naming the hour."[3] Lee's decentralized command system depended, therefore, on his subordinate generals sharing his personal sense of time, which, as the uncoordinated and imprecise attacks at Gettysburg illustrate, was not the case. From the battle's first engagement to the last, Lee inadvertently created many of the multiple times plaguing the Confederate cause at Gettysburg.

On June 30, 1863, Confederate General James Pettigrew's brigade of Major General A. P. Hill's Corps went searching for shoes. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, it was rumored, had a large supply. Instead of shoes, Pettigrew discovered the enemy. With no knowledge of the size of the enemy force and "unwilling to hazard an attack with his single brigade," Pettigrew wisely returned to the Confederate base at Cashtown and reported to Hill. Hill in turn informed Brigadier General Richard Ewell of a morning advance designed to discover the size of the enemy massing at Gettysburg. Lee then ordered Ewell to proceed from Heidlersburg to "Cashtown or Gettysburg, as circumstances might dictate."[4] By failing to specify temporal parameters, Lee surrendered authority to Ewell.

On July 1, "soon after daylight" by Major General Richard H. Anderson's recollection but at 5:00 A.M. by Hill's watch, Major General Henry Heth, Major William J. Pegram, Major General William Dorsey Pender, and Major David G. McIntosh's battalions advanced on the enemy at Gettysburg. At 5:30 A.M., according to Newel Cheney of the Ninth New York Cavalry, the federals launched the first shots. At 8:00 A.M., Union General John Buford was informed that the Confederates were approaching, and twenty minutes later, by Union Captain R. K. Beecham's watch, "Heth's division encountered Buford's pickets." Informed of the potential conflict,

Lee revoked temporal and military authority and ordered Ewell to avoid "a general engagement." It was, however, too late: "by the time the message reached" Ewell, "General A. P. Hill had already been warmly engaged" with Buford's forces. Both sides dug in and sent for reinforcements. The time lag between Lee's issuance of the order and its reception resulted, in the opinions of Lieutenant Randolph H. McKim and General E. P. Alexander, in Hill's unauthorized military engagement and was symptomatic of the multiple times—natural, mechanical, and personal—in which the battle was conducted.[5]

By Union Brevet Major E. P. Halstead's timepiece, Major General John F. Reynolds's Federal infantry joined Buford's cavalry in opposing Heth's four brigades "about 10 o'clock in the forenoon," while Union Major General Alfred Pleasonton timed the arrival between 11:00 and noon. Shortly after arriving with his men, Reynolds fell victim to a Confederate bullet and died at either 10:15 A.M. (by the watches of Major General Abner Doubleday and Brigadier General James Wadsworth) or 10:30 A.M. (by Colonel Charles S. Wainwright's recollection). According to Jesse Bowman Young of the Eighty-fourth Pennsylvania Infantry, "At a little before eleven o'clock," "Major General Oliver O. Howard . . . arrived at Gettysburg to find himself . . . by the death of Reynolds in command of the whole field." Yet Howard claimed that he learned "the sad tidings of" Reynolds's death "about 11:30 A.M.," at which time he assumed command of the left wing of Reynolds's forces. Major General Daniel Butterfield claimed to have learned of Reynolds's passing at 1:10 P.M. despite reporting that Reynolds had gained possession of Gettysburg at 1:15 P.M.[6] As at Bull Run, multiple clock times were clearly at work.

But as Confederate Major General Robert Emmett Rodes's attack on the Union right flank illustrates, movement was necessarily uncoordinated because he could not tie and arrange space with time: "Confederate corps commanders had little idea where their sister units were located" and thus were unable to act in concert. Nevertheless, Rodes had planned a simultaneous attack. Brigadier General Alfred Iverson was to "advance gradually on Gettysburg" from the right while Colonel Albert O'Neal's Alabamians attacked the center and Brigadier General George Doles's regiment engaged the left. Brigadier General Junius Daniel's brigade was to support "Iverson

if necessary; if not to attack on his right as soon as possible," and Brigadier General Stephen Ramseur's men were to "support General Doles, on the left; Colonel O'Neal, left center, or General Iverson, on the right, according to circumstances." Of the three lead commanders, only Iverson asked about the timing of the attack. When he asked at what time he was to engage, Rodes replied, "when your skirmishers became hotly engaged." Such a vague, subjective time frame disrupted the intended simultaneous and hegemonic nature of the attack. Iverson relied on his personal sense of time: when the engagement felt hot enough, he attacked as instructed. Doles's force, unaware of Iverson's delay, engaged the enemy forces at 1:00 P.M. and dislodged them by 3:30 P.M. O'Neal's forces split, however. Three regiments proceeded "in some disorder in a direction different from that" ordered, without knowledge of Iverson's delay, while another, lacking horses, remained behind. O'Neal's attack collapsed, exposing Iverson's left flank. The result was the collapse of Rodes's simultaneous attack as two prongs failed to act in concert with the third. The plan further fragmented as Daniel's and Ramseur's forces entered the fray. With "no notification" to Daniel, Iverson "changed his line of direction considerably to the left," thus forcing Daniel to do the same and exposing Daniel's men to heavy fire.[7] Ramseur decided to split his men and sent two regiments to defend O'Neal and the other two to Iverson. Although Ramseur successfully turned the enemy's right flank, Rodes's attack plan had disintegrated into failure. The delay of Iverson's attack and the directional changes of O'Neal, Iverson, and subsequently Daniel resulted in multiple temporal dislocations and, it is likely, the Confederate loss of Oak Hill.

In the case of the Confederate attack on Oak Hill, independence of action led to miscoordination. At McPherson's Ridge, however, it did not. A. P. Hill took temporal "control out of the hands of the commander-in-chief" largely because Lee failed to establish it. Through precise instructions, Hill imposed a unified time on his men, "effectively coordinating the actions of two divisions."[8]

Lee arrived on the field of battle at 2:30 P.M. by Colonel McKim's timepiece. Beecham, however, placed Lee's arrival at 4:00 P.M., while newspaperman Charles Carleton Coffin claimed that Lee and Longstreet arrived just prior to 5:00, with "the sun yet two hours in the heavens." The intrusion of multiple clock times foreshadowed the temporal complications that plagued

the Confederacy over the following two days. As commander in chief, Lee was responsible for organizing and directing military actions on the field, but his arrival during the course of the battle prohibited him from "grasp[ing] the situation in all its features." Consequently, he relied on Ewell's knowledge of the situation and instructed him to "renew the attack on the high ground before nightfall" and "to carry the hill occupied by the enemy, if he found it practicable." By failing to set the temporal parameters for Ewell's actions, Lee surrendered his temporal authority and military power to a man who participated in a separate temporal construct. Lee further fragmented Confederate temporality by utilizing a natural time, "nightfall," that was open to interpretation rather than a clock time that would have been closed to debate if a standard clock time could have been established. Ewell did not find an attack to be "practicable." Brigadier General Isaac Ridgeway Trimble protested this decision, claiming that Lee's "order cannot have reference to the present situation, for we have had a general engagement and gained a great victory and by all military rules we ought to follow up our success, and we are losing golden moments." Despite having time to reevaluate his decision, Ewell refused to attack, thereby squandering the opportunity to secure the hill. While Confederate forces spent the remainder of the first day holding the town, Union forces seized the opportunity provided by Ewell and "proceeded leisurely, during the night and the next morning, to fortify their position and make it impregnable."[9]

Although the South was victorious on the first day of Gettysburg, this triumph did not result from cohesive effort but rather from the fact that Union Major General George Meade and the bulk of the Army of the Potomac were absent. The victory was not decisive but could have been so, according to General Early, "by a prompt advance of all the [Confederate] troops that had been engaged . . . against the hill upon and behind which the enemy had taken refuge, but a common superior did not happen to be present and the opportunity was lost," a casualty of the Confederacy's temporal pluralities.[10] Yet Lee continued to issue ambiguous and vague orders that failed to inspire temporal obedience from his men but instead surrendered temporal authority to them.

By morning on July 2, Union troops under Meade numbered eighty-five thousand. The Union forces stretched their line to occupy "the fishhook-

shaped Cemetery Ridge from Culp's Hill at the North to the Round Tops at the South." Facing the Union forces, sixty-five thousand Confederates occupied lower Seminary Ridge. The Confederate line formed a larger "fishhook outside the enemy's small one . . . making communication between flanks very long," roundabout, and slow. Victory was to be found in simultaneous attacks, which, in Alexander's words, "always look[ed] before hand very simple and easy, and always prove[d] afterward to have been impossible, from one of a hundred possible causes."[11] Lee's refusal to issue concrete times was just such a cause.

Commanding from the ridge, Lee originally ordered Ewell to assail Culp's Hill and Longstreet to attack Cemetery Hill. Ewell and Early dissuaded Lee by arguing that J. E. B. Stuart and his cavalry had not arrived and that without their reconnaissance information regarding the terrain and enemy positions, such an offensive would be too dangerous.[12] Stuart's absence highlighted the fact that Lee and his subordinates functioned in different and often conflicting times.

On June 23, Lee had ordered Stuart to "judge whether [he] could pass around [the Union] army without hindrance." Lee's vague and discretionary message neglected to give Stuart a time frame within which to accomplish his assignment. With Stuart going about his task at his own pace, the Confederacy was left without intelligence: according to Longstreet, "we knew nothing of Meade's movements . . . except by surmise." Although Lee recognized that Stuart was acting "in the exercise of the discretion given to him," his prolonged disappearance annoyed Lee, thus suggesting that he believed that he had established a clear time frame when in fact he had not. Largely because of Stuart's absence, Lee abandoned his original plan and ordered a simultaneous three-pronged attack designed to break through Union lines and occupy the high ground. Longstreet was to attack the Union's left flank while Ewell attacked the right and Hill drove through the center. But once again, Lee did not issue specific times for these supposedly simultaneous attacks. According to Union soldier Jesse Bowman Young, Lee's lack of concrete times resulted from the nature of his battle plan, technically "an echelon line" in which each regiment "takes its cue from a preceding one, occupying a parallel line in advance of the one it holds." In short, "[Cadeus Marcellus] Wilcox was to watch the movements of

[Brigadier General William] Barksdale. . . . [Armistead] Long was to follow the movements of Wilcox. . . . [Horatio G.] Wright was to follow Long. . . . [Carnot] Posey, [William] Mahone, and Daniel [were] to follow Wright."[13] The result was a poorly coordinated assault that failed.

The controversial timing of Longstreet's attack provides insight into the communication and conflicting temporal realities of the Confederate commanders. Lee did not issue written orders with a specified clock time directing Longstreet's attack. Instead, Lee issued verbal orders. In their memoirs, General John B. Gordon, Colonel Armistead Long, and Colonel Charles Marshall recalled that Lee ordered his generals to "attack the enemy in the morning as early as practicable."[14] Without a specified time to guide them, Lee's men were forced to rely on nature's cues and personal temporal realities.

General Early maintained that Lee left his generals on the evening of July 1 "for the purpose of ordering up Longstreet's corps in time to begin the attack at dawn the next morning." Young recalled that Longstreet's attack was to be made at "sunrise of the second day." Union General William Nelson Pendleton, however, remembered that "the attack by General Lee's right, General Longstreet commanding, was expected to take place at a very early hour on the 2d of July."[15] No specific clock time was given, and different geographies, topographies, and personal observations resulted in different definitions of dawn.

Other members of Lee's staff, including Colonel Walter H. Taylor, Lieutenant Colonel William Allen, and General Alexander, denied the existence of a dawn attack order and suggested that "morning" was the stated time. These accounts, however, left unexplained the difference between "dawn" and "morning." Longstreet maintained that when he "left General Lee, about seven o'clock in the evening" on July 1, no orders for the next day had been issued. Moreover, Longstreet claimed that "the stars were shining brightly on the morning of the 2d when [he] reported at General Lee's headquarters and asked for orders." Colonel Charles Venable's account supported Longstreet's version of events. Venable recalled that he "had been sent by Lee at about sunrise" to discuss an attack, suggesting that orders had not already been issued. General Lafayette McLaws concurred. He recorded that Lee departed at 8:00 A.M. on July 2 and "rode to General Ewell to

establish the cooperation of Ewell's corps." Longstreet recalled that Lee rarely used the clock to schedule military action but on this day planned an attack on the Union left at 11 A.M. The Forty-third North Carolina regiment, part of Ewell's forces, also seemed set for an unspecified morning attack. As Lieutenant Colonel W. G. Lewis recalled, "on the morning of July 2," the regiment "moved to a position on the crest of a hill" in anticipation of a battle. Even some divisions under Longstreet's command were in place for an early attack. At "an early hour on the morning of July 2nd," Major R. C. Maffett's Third South Carolina Infantry "moved forward to take up position in the line of battle." Major J. B. Kershaw's South Carolina division was "ordered to move at 4 o'clock in the morning of 2d but did not leave camp until about sunrise."[16] Because of these hazy appeals to a vague natural time as well as the uses of clock time, Confederate forces gathered but did so later than was desirable. Lee, his subordinates, and their men functioned within multiple times, some of them clock defined and some natural but all uncoordinated.

Hill, Ewell, and Longstreet positioned men to attack in the morning yet did not launch an offensive. Although Lee did not specify an attack time in writing, he clearly had one in mind. Numerous accounts depict Lee as anxious. Major W. T. Poague noted that Lee was impatient and "wonder[ed] where General Longstreet [could] be." Lee's aide-de-camp, Marshall, recalled that the general waited "some time for the expected development of Longstreet's attack and express[ed] his surprise that it had not yet begun." Long recalled that Lee became irritated when he "did not hear the guns of Longstreet's expected attack . . . and at about 10 A.M., went in search of Longstreet." Other accounts place Lee's quest for Longstreet an hour later, at 11:00.[17] Regardless of whether these conflicting times were the result of inaccurate watches, Lee's surprise and annoyance at Longstreet's delay certainly suggests that Lee expected the attack to occur prior to noon.

Lee's failure to establish a hegemonic military time ensured that the attack would not succeed. Lee failed to realize that even when he did specify a clock-defined attack time, not all watches were set to true time or kept the same time. Under the impression that Lee had "left the timing of the First Corps attack" to Longstreet's discretion, Longstreet began to mobilize the bulk of his men only at noon. According to Maffett, however,

the Confederate artillery barrage began at 3:00 P.M., and "at 4 o'clock [his] regiment . . . was ordered forward to attack." Union Colonel Beecham's timepiece showed "twenty minutes to four" as the time of Longstreet's assault. Marshall and Taylor disagreed, claiming that Longstreet's batteries opened fire at 4:00, while Pendleton maintained that the assault began "soon after 4 P.M." and lasted an hour before the "guns were silent." Union soldier S. W. Curtis pinpointed 4:15 as the time when the Confederates opened fire, whereas British observer Arthur James Lyon Fremantle claimed that a "dead silence reigned until 4:45 P.M.," when Longstreet launched his assault. To Ewell's ears, silence reigned for an additional fifteen minutes until Longstreet finally implemented his morning order at 5:00. These conflicting times likely resulted from inaccurately set timepieces, sound shadows, or temporal confusion invoked by battle.[18] Whatever the cause, Longstreet did not function within the same temporal parameters as either Lee or his men. The existence of these multiple times resulted in a miscoordinated and mistimed attack.

Longstreet's delayed attack in combination with Lee's surrendering of temporal authority lost the Confederacy "the golden opportunity" to capture Little Round Top, "the key of the battlefield." In Beecham's words, "From five o'clock P.M. of July first to four o'clock P.M. of July second, the [Confederate army] was apparently asleep and by that twenty three hours of inaction [the Confederate] floodtide of fortune had ebbed, and the wild dream of [victory] had passed beyond all chance of fulfillment." Indeed, by the time Longstreet organized his men and headed for Little Round Top, Union General G. K. Warren occupied the hill. Longstreet's forces, however, had a second chance at about 3:00 P.M. as the Union experienced a breach of temporal authority. Perhaps convinced that the hill was secure, Union Major General Daniel E. Sickles repositioned his troops without Meade's permission or knowledge, thus disrupting Meade's understanding of his force's military space and rendering temporal coordination impossible. Moving his troops away from the Round Tops, Sickles focused his men on the Peach Orchard, Devil's Den, and along the Emmitsburg Road. In so doing, he exposed not only his line but also that of the entire Union. Longstreet was unable to capitalize on the situation, however, because the Confederacy failed to launch a coordinated assault. Despite the

best attempts of Longstreet's Fifteenth Alabama Regiment, Union forces held Little Round Top.[19]

While Longstreet attacked at his supposedly authorized leisure, Lee altered Ewell's role in the battle. The original design had called for a simultaneous attack launched by Longstreet at the Union's left, Hill at the center, and Ewell at the right, but the temporal dislocation caused by Longstreet's delay ruled out a tightly coordinated attack. Instead, Lee once again erroneously surrendered temporal authority to his subordinate general. Unaware of sound shadows or aural time dislocations, Lee ordered Ewell to attack at "the sound of Longstreet's guns."[20] Relying on aural cues represented another instance in which Lee gave orders that featured not precise clock times but rather times open to interpretation and thereby further decentralized power and control.

With Ewell's attack contingent on his aural perceptions and temporal consciousness, new times were introduced into the battle, underscoring the temporal dislocations that the Confederate forces suffered. In one version, Ewell either mistakenly perceived Longstreet's attack due to an aural shadow or simply grew tired of waiting for a time that was not clearly defined. Ewell and his divisions attacked the Union's right flank on East Cemetery Hill before Longstreet attacked its left, with no support and with disastrous results. Although Ewell's forces captured portions of Culp's Hill, Union troops forced the Confederates off Cemetery Hill. A second version holds that Ewell attacked too late. Instead of responding to Longstreet's guns, Ewell dawdled and waited to mobilize his men, a delay "probably fatal to Lee, because it allowed Meade to strip his right and center to bolster the lines that were being hammered and driven by Longstreet." According to Union General Howard, the failure of Ewell and Longstreet's attack lay in the fact that "neither [Lee n]or his generals could distinguish Longstreet's firing" and thus fired either too soon or too late, destroying Lee's desired coordination.[21] Regardless of which version is correct, the echelon collapsed as a result of conflicting temporal realities and cleavages.

General Hill's attack on Meade's center lacked, in the words of Private John S. Lewis, "concert of motion" and thus resulted in "a large sacrifice" of life. Lee ordered Hill to "co-operate" with Longstreet and Ewell but did not specify what exactly this term meant or when such cooperation

was to occur. Once again, Lee left the timing to his subordinate general. Hill opted for an echelon, placing Pender's division on the left of Cemetery Ridge, moving Anderson's division to the right, and making Anderson's involvement contingent on McLaws's movement. When the general engagement began at 2:00, Anderson's men were unengaged and remained so until 5:30 P.M., when McLaws's men entered the engagement. The other divisions also advanced unevenly, "with intervals of space and time separating each attack."[22] Miscoordinated, mistimed, and miscued, Hill's supposedly simultaneous attack failed. Although the Confederates held some of Culp's Hill, the Union forces held an equal amount.

Failure, in the words of Confederate J. B. Kershaw, lay in "the want of simultaneous movement and co-operation between the troops employed, between corps, divisions, and brigades, and in some instances regiments of the same brigade." Confederate Randolph McKim also attributed failure to "a paralysis of the co-coordinating faculty all along the line" caused by temporal dislocations and miscoordinations that impinged on and destroyed the Confederacy's ability to attack the enemy in an orderly and precise fashion.[23] The conflicting temporal parameters of Lee, Stuart, Longstreet, Ewell, Hill, and their soldiers limited the effectiveness of the Confederate attack. The multiple times within which Confederate forces operated helped to rob the army of any significant territorial gain. Despite the wounds and deaths of forty thousand men, the Union and Confederacy remained deadlocked.

On July 3, the stalemate broke. Despite the failure of the previous day, Lee's "general plan" remained "unchanged. Longstreet, reinforced by Pickett's three brigades, . . . was ordered to attack the next morning, and General Ewell was ordered to attack the enemy's right at the same time." During the night, Ewell "reinforced [Major] General [Edward] Johnson with two brigades from Rodes's division and one from Early's division."[24]

Once again, however, the Confederates failed to execute their plan with "the proper concert of action." Ewell and Longstreet did not coordinate their attempts. Supported by Alexander, Longstreet claimed that Lee had not issued attack orders on the morning of July 3. Lee maintained that he had ordered Longstreet to launch a morning attack. In any event, Longstreet did not attack, but Ewell was not notified until "half an hour after Johnson

attacked, . . . when it was too late to recall" Ewell's troops, that "Longstreet would not attack until 10 A.M." Stuart was to circle behind the Federals and attack from the rear, but Union forces stopped him. With Lee's battle plan in shambles, Confederate victory hinged on the success of Longstreet's attack. Aware of the remote possibility "that any group of soldiers could cross the slightly more than one mile of artillery-swept ground slight[ly] uphill," Lee nevertheless ordered a charge to be led jointly by Major Generals George Pickett and James Pettigrew.[25]

While Lee issued the order, Longstreet was to decide the appropriate moment to attack; he, in turn, turned the task and temporal control over to E. P. Alexander, ordering him to wait until "our artillery fire is at its best" and then to "order General Pickett to charge." Alexander's memoirs suggest that he was uncertain about when exactly to commence the charge. By his own account, he viewed Pickett's advance as contingent on the success of the preceding artillery barrage. Alexander reasoned that he would order Pickett "to advance within fifteen or twenty minutes after [the cannonade] began," but knowing that the enemy "was generally protected from our fire by stone walls and swells of runs, [Alexander] could not bring [himself] to give the word. . . . [He] let fifteen minutes pass, and 20, and 25 hoping vainly for something to turn up. Then [he] wrote to Pickett: 'If you are coming at all you must come at once, or I cannot give you proper support.' "[26]

The barrage commenced at "12½ P.M. by the watch" of Colonel Joseph Graham or 1:00 by Alexander's watch or 1:05 Washington time according to newspaperman Charles Coffin's timepiece. Colonel H. C. Cabell, Captain Wayland Fuller Dunaway, and Lee's aide-de-camp, Marshall, placed the commencement of the cannonade at 1 P.M., as did Generals George Pickett, William Nelson Pendleton, and Robert E. Lee. Major B. F. Eshleman of the Louisiana Artillery was less precise in his temporal constructions, recalling that the cannonade began "between 1 and 2 P.M." Major Charles S. Peyton of the Nineteenth Virginia Infantry recounted the barrage beginning at 1:30 P.M. General G. Moxley Sorrel declared "about 2 o'clock" as the cannonade's starting time, while General Richard Anderson claimed that the cannons opened at 3:30 P.M.[27]

The length of the cannonade further complicated and fragmented Confederate temporalities, for the cannonade's termination signaled Confeder-

ate forces to advance. Alexander ordered Pickett's attack at "exactly 1:25 P.M." Ten minutes later, Alexander sent Pickett another note that read, "For God's sake come quick." Pickett and his men still failed to materialize. Although Alexander did "not recall looking at [his watch] again that day," he believed that the charge began neither "earlier than 1:50 nor later than 2 P.M."[28]

In Alexander's, Longstreet's, and Anderson's estimations, the cannonade lasted about an hour. Joseph Graham of the first North Carolina Artillery was more specific, claiming that the barrage lasted seventy minutes. Other Confederates, including Generals Joseph R. Davis and Pickett as well as Colonel Marshall, Fortieth Virginia Captain Wayland Fuller Dunaway, Virginian John Daniel Lee, and Major Joseph A. Engelhard, maintained that the barrage lasted two hours. Eshleman and Cabell, however, claimed that the artillery cannonade lasted well over two hours. Captain William J. Seymour of the Sixth Louisiana regiment reported that the "hoarse roar of the cannon, the screaming and bursting of shell, the dull *thud* of the solid shot as it buried itself in the ground, the crash of falling timber, the loud explosion of ammunition chests, the unearthly cries of wounded horses, and the loud shots of defiance of the combatants" continued for four hours. These temporal dislocations resulted in "utter absence of accord" and illustrate the obstacles in the path of a coordinated Confederate attack.[29]

Confederate recollections of the start and duration of the barrage are more accurate than those of the Union. While two hours is the most common length among Confederates and historians, Union assessments range from a ridiculous ten minutes to an even more ridiculous eleven hours. By Captain H. Coates's timepiece, at "about 10 A.M." the Confederates "open[ed] upon the center . . . a most severe fire of artillery which continued without intermission until 3 P.M." General Butterfield placed the barrage two hours later, at noon. Theodore B. Gates of the Twentieth New York Infantry disagreed, recalling that it was "12:30 P.M. of the 3d, when the enemy opened" and "nearly three hours" later when the barrage stopped. Brigadier General John C. Caldwell had the cannons opening at about noon and finishing at 1:00. Union Major S. W. Curtis, however, reported that silence reigned from 10:30 until 1:00 P.M., when the Confederate cannons opened. This barrage, by Curtis's watch, lasted three hours. Brigadier General John W. Geary recalled that the barrage lasted from 1:00 to 3:15, while Captain John G. Hazard of

the First Rhode Island Light Infantry believed that the cannonade lasted seventy-five minutes. Colonel R. K. Beecham of the First Brigade, First Division, First Corps, of the Army of the Potomac was certain that the barrage "began at about quarter past one o'clock in the afternoon" but was less sure about its duration, reporting that the cannonade "lasted an hour and a half, or more, or well along toward three o'clock" while Pickett's charge occurring "[w]ithin ten to fifteen minutes after the artillery ceased firing." General A. P. Howe, however, "took out [his] watch and looked at it to see what time it was and how long the fire would continue." The "artillery fire, as [he] timed it, was kept up for a little over an hour and forty-five minutes." The "experience of the terrible grandeur of that rain of missiles and that chaos of strange and terror spreading sounds" may have caused Union personnel erroneously to estimate the timing and duration of the barrage.[30] Because Union forces were on the defensive, however, these multiplicities and their accompanying temporal dislocations caused confusion but minimal disruption. The offensive nature of the Confederate task, however, rendered damaging even miniscule temporal variations. Although the terrain and the Union forces' strategic positions bore primary responsibility for the slaughter of Pickett's men and the Confederate loss on the third day, the Confederacy's temporal dislocations distorted the attack's effectiveness.

These conflicting temporal realities crafted a new time, however. The time of battle accomplished on the home front what no time could on the battlefield. Battle time forced civilians to reorganize their schedules and to operate in a context created by battle. Events on the battlefield reconfigured clock-regulated work routines, meal schedules, and hours of slumber, absorbing the authority of the clock and governing all activities in Gettysburg for the duration of the battle.

"[P]leasantly located in a healthful region of the country, near the southern border of Pennsylvania," Gettysburg was a picturesque village of banks and warehouses, industry and agriculture, merchants and educators, newspapers and culture. In short, on the morning of June 30, 1863, Gettysburg was a "peaceful village, surrounded by fields and orchards, stretching in every direction."[31] Rumors swirled of an impending battle, but residents paid scant attention: as Tillie Alleman recalled, they "had often heard that the rebels were about to make a raid, but had always found it a false alarm."

Even the arrival of the Union cavalry that afternoon failed to encourage citizens to alter their regular routines. While the cavalry's presence stirred anxiety, and concern, "few," in the words of Mary Horner, "dreamed that [this] quiet village . . . would be a battlefield."[32]

On the morning of July 1, "Gettysburg awoke," recalled resident Henry Jacob, "and was not alarmed." Townsfolk went about their daily routines. Liberty Hollinger's father set off at his usual time for his "warehouse down along the railroad, on the corner of Stratton street, where he engaged in the grain and produce business." Gettysburg College Professor Michael Jacobs and his colleagues "met their classes as usual at eight o'clock." Ten-year-old Charles M. McCurdy wandered around town, as little boys were wont to do, with "no restrictions placed on [his] goings and comings" or warnings "to keep near home."[33] Such normalcy was short lived, however, as battle intruded on the pastoral village and reorganized its residents' lives.

At "about 8 A.M.," by Lydia Ziegler Clare's watch, "an ominous sound was heard that struck terror to the hearts of all. . . . [I]t was called battle." Alleman "first noticed firing in the direction of Seminary Ridge . . . between nine and ten o'clock." Sarah Broadhead recalled that "the shells began to 'fly around quite thick' " at about 10:00. Laura Bergstresser's first brush with battle was almost her last, as "a shell struck the wall" beside her, "tearing out a large hole and scattering pieces of brick, mortar and plaster all around the room in which" she was standing. Jenny Wade lacked Bergstresser's luck. On July 3, Wade suffered a fatal wound while baking bread in her kitchen.[34]

The war had come to Gettysburg. For three days, shells tore "through houses." Union and Confederate soldiers tangled in the homes of Gettysburg residents, and, in Confederate W. W. Blackford's words, "It was a strange sight to see these men fighting in these neatly and sometimes elegantly furnished rooms." The war intruded on the civilian world, making "every hour . . . one of uncertainty and dread."[35] The intimate link between events on the battlefield and the home front caused citizens to react in a number of ways, all of them directed by the exigencies of battle.

Merchants abandoned their clock-regulated working hours and closed their stores "at news of the coming of the enemy." The town's three newspapers, the *Gettysburg Star and Banner,* the *Adam's Sentinel,* and the *Gettysburg Compiler,* ceased publication. The postmaster fled town, shutting down the

post office and cutting the village off from outside communication. The Bank of Gettysburg also abandoned clock-regulated working hours, shutting its doors and emptying its vault. Classes at Gettysburg College were abandoned. The excitement also "proved too strenuous for 'de Gas House' as the old German in charge of the works" fled, plunging the village into darkness.[36] The belching of the cannons drowned out the ticks of the clock.

The battle disrupted Albertus McCreary's clock-regulated meal. His family sat down for its usual noon dinner but was unable to finish because "there was so much noise and racket in the street." The family "left the table and went to the doors to see just what was going on." They discovered the street "full of Union soldiers, running and pushing each other, sweaty and black from powder and dust." Instead of returning to the meal, the family busied itself supplying the Union troops with water.[37]

Battle also forced Fannie Buehler and the Myers family to abandon their clock-regulated meals. Instead, Buehler cooked around the clock to feed the wounded of both armies: "The kitchen fire never went out, the tea kettle was never without plenty of boiling water, and a large wash boiler never emptied of oat meal or corn meal gruel; the same of coffee or soup. . . . [A]ll were made welcome . . . at any hour of the day and night." Because of the staggering number of wounded, the "Myers house was transformed into a hospital auxiliary service as the family cooked [and] boiled linens and bandages" with no regard for the clock.[38]

The Myers residence was not the only structure transformed into a makeshift hospital. The courthouse, the college, private homes, warehouses, and various other public buildings were pressed into service, and the citizens of Gettysburg abandoned their clock-regulated schedules and became volunteer nurses. Salome Myers, who "had never been able to stand the sight of blood," spent the entire night of July 1 fanning patients. The wounded poured into Christ Lutheran Church at a rate previously unimaginable to Mary McAllister, who "went to doing what [the doctors] told [her] to do, wetting cloths and putting them on the wounds and helping."[39] Clock time was forgotten as the citizens focused on the wounded.

The demands of caring for the wounded meant that the clock ceased to regulate sleep schedules, a phenomenon to which the battle itself also contributed. Broadhead "had no rest" during the night of July 1, largely

because the Rebels were robbing the house across the street and she "expected every minute that they would burst through [her] door." Subsequent days provided little relief, as Broadhead found it "out of the question . . . to eat or sleep under such terrible excitement and such painful suspense." Mary McAllister found sleep fitful rather than elusive. With all the beds and most of the floor space commandeered for the wounded, she prepared "a chair with a shirt folded to lay on the window sill . . . and slept for three nights, with [her] head on [her] arms." Alleman found that "the strange and appalling events" coupled with the groans and cries of the dying robbed her of sleep. McCreary slept during lulls in the battle rather than when the clock struck the appropriate hour.[40]

Battle dictated action and inaction for other citizens. With street fighting rumored, Union General Reynolds advised civilians "to leave their residences, that the shot and shell of the enemy might . . . reach and injure them." Attorney William McClean and other residents "succumbed to the urge to watch the terrible drama that was threatening their very existence." On his way to Oak Ridge, however, the nearby explosion of a shell stymied McClean's curiosity, and he quickly returned home. McCreary and a neighbor took to the roof to watch Pickett's charge, only to discover that the Union sharpshooters on Cemetery Hill could not differentiate between Confederates and civilians. The pair quickly returned to the safety of the house. Daniel Skelly shinnied up a tree to view Pegram's guns and relayed events to neighbors gathered on the south reach of Oak Ridge. A shell barely missed the observers and created "a general stampede toward town."[41]

Other civilians heeded Reynolds's advice and fled the village. Fearing reenslavement if the Confederates gained control of the village, most African American families left the area. Many citizens "left their homes only to encounter greater danger elsewhere." Such was the case for Alleman and Henrietta Schriver, who fled Gettysburg for Jacob Weiker's home "on the Taneytown road at the eastern slope of the Round top." But this supposedly safer ground became a battleground: on the afternoon of July 2, "heavy cannonading began" and was so "severe that it was with great difficulty" that Alleman and Schriver "could hear [themselves] speak." On the advice of Union soldiers, the pair abandoned Weiker's home in favor of a farmhouse out of the range of battle. Yet battle again intruded to direct the two women's

actions, for they were "permitted to remain" at the farmhouse "but a few minutes" when cannon fire forced them to return to the Weiker home.[42]

Battle clearly replaced the clock in directing movement. On July 2, battle also sent the Thorn family in search of a safe haven. With the Thorn home occupied by Federal forces and in the midst of a terrible cannonade, General Howard ordered the family to leave, to "take nothing but the children," and to "get as far in ten minutes as possible." They found shelter at Musser's farm on the Baltimore Pike. "Near midnight, when everything was quiet," the Thorns ventured back to their home, only to discover that it had been transformed into a makeshift hospital. Consequently, at "about three o'clock in the morning [they] started on another journey and went down the pike to" a farmhouse, where they spent the remainder of the battle.[43]

Some citizens who opted to stay in their homes were forced to take refuge underground. When the battle had first broken out, Federal officers "dashed through the streets ordering everyone to their cellars, as the town would be shelled." "[A]s a rule," noted Alleman, during the battle, "folks stayed in the cellar during the day, as it was considered the safest place, and it was only at night after the firing had ceased, that they ventured up in the house." Broadhead's experiences were typical: when Confederate forces took possession of the town on July 1, she descended into her cellar and remained there until the "firing ceased." She emerged to discover that the town had changed: "The street was strewn over with clothes, blankets, knapsacks, cartridge-boxes, dead horses, and the bodies of a few men." The evening brought no relief. When the "cannonading commenced about 10 o'clock" on July 2, Broadhead again descended into the cellar until silence reigned above. "The quiet did not last long," and at 4:00 P.M., she returned to the cellar until the battle ceased at 10:00 P.M. by her watch. Battle again intruded on July 3, and she remained in the cellar from 4:00 A.M. until 10:00 A.M. while the battle raged with "unearthly fury." Broadhead came upstairs briefly but then returned to the cellar, where she remained all afternoon "listening to the terrific sound of the strife; more terrible never greeted human ears." She "knew that with every explosion, and the scream of each shell human beings were hurried, through excruciating pain, into another world and that many more were torn and mangled and lying in torment worse than death."[44]

Battle disrupted the daily routines of Gettysburg's citizens of Gettysburg and crafted new ones.

When the citizens of Gettysburg emerged on July 4, battle time had dissipated. Alleman noted the acoustic change. The summits and valleys echoed with "the soldiers hurrahing for the victory that had been won" rather than the screaming of shells and tormented cries of the wounded. Hollinger recalled that it "was so quiet and there was only a few Rebels about," so she realized "that the battle must have ended." Broadhead heard silence instead of the cacophony of the previous three days and went "to bed feeling safe."[45]

The multiple times of battle collided on the field at Gettysburg to create new temporal parameters in which soldiers functioned. The blending of natural times, personal times, and clock times created a reified time beyond the control of humans and clocks. The sum of these multiple times, battle time, disrupted the lives of the inhabitants of Gettysburg. Battle time reorganized antebellum schedules, forcing citizens to operate in a context created by battle. Battle time directed all action within the village as citizens abandoned clock-regulated work, sleep, and meal schedules. Battle limited or encouraged action and inaction. When the cannons boomed, the majority of Gettysburg's citizens retreated to their cellars, emerging only when the cannons were silent. Battle time provided an intimate link between the battlefield and the home front, becoming the ultimate arbiter of time in the village of Gettysburg as well as in Civil War camps, hospitals, and prisons.

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3

"LIKE A WHEEL IN A WATCH"

Soldiers, Camp, and Battle Time

"A soldier in the army is like a wheel, in a watch, a part only of its mechanism. His duty is to obey orders."

CONFEDERATE SOLDIER DOUGLAS JOHN CATER

Union sergeant Isaac Newton Parker's June 21, 1863, letter to his wife resonated with anxiety, tension, and a terrible concern. Although not broken, Parker's watch had not been serviced in seven years. Rather than trust the precious task to unreliable North Carolina watch repairers, Parker implored his wife to take his timepiece to O. E. Silbey's repair shop in Buffalo, New York. Further, he issued terse but detailed instructions. She was to have the watch cleaned and repaired regardless of the cost. She was to test the repaired watch for accuracy by measuring its time against a clock in Silbey's shop and was also to wind the timepiece and let it run down to make sure that it ran the "full 48 hours" it was supposed to run without stopping.[1] The fact that Parker mailed his watch more than seven hundred miles attests to the importance of having an accurate timepiece. A functioning watch was not a luxury. Like canteens, shoes, rifles, and water, it was essential for Parker's work as a Union sergeant in the 132nd New York Infantry Regiment as well as for the war effort generally.

A reliable watch was equally important to Confederate Samuel Andrew Agnew and the Confederate war effort. Unfortunately for Agnew, he opted to have his watch repaired by a Mississippi watchmaker named McAllister in

October 1863. Although the "charges were extortionate," they did not reflect the quality of the work completed, and a mere five days after Agnew got the piece back, it broke once more. Perhaps lacking any other local options, Agnew returned his watch to McAllister, who fixed it again. On January 26, 1864, Agnew retrieved his watch from McAllister, paid the dollar charge, and set off to conduct his day's work armed with his gloriously ticking timepiece. Its precision lasted only until February 8, when the watch chain broke, and Agnew realized that McAllister's work "seem[ed] to have no stability." Reasoning that "what can't be cured must be endured" and lacking the option of sending his watch away to be fixed, Agnew tried two other local watch repairers, to no avail. On March 14, he again took his "watch by McAllister's for repair."[2] The importance of a working watch clearly outweighed the frustrations and costs imposed by McAllister's dubious workmanship.

Parker's and Agnew's stories suggest watches' extremely important role in soldiering. Civil War soldiers went to extraordinary lengths to secure reliable timepieces largely because the Confederate and Union military complexes attempted to create an orderly, precise, and modern war machine based on the clock. Soldiers therefore found timepieces indispensable.

So great was Civil War soldiers' demand for timepieces that Massachusetts's Waltham Watch Company purposely crafted and marketed a soldier's watch, the Ellery, that retailed for an exceedingly reasonable thirteen dollars and was so popular that by 1865 the timepiece "accounted for 44.7 percent of unit sales and 30.4 percent of receipts."[3] This market saved the Waltham Watch Company from bankruptcy.[4]

Soldiers first came to understand clock time's role, importance, and limits while in camp. In the absence of battle, the clock regulated work and leisure during the Monday–Saturday workweek. For the men of the Fourteenth South Carolina Regiment stationed at Camp Butler in Aiken, South Carolina, a typical 1861 workday started with "the roll at reveille, parade the company at 6 o'clock, drill until 7. Breakfast over, make a morning report of the company: who's sick, who's on duty, absent, accounted for and everything else. Next, parade the company, call the roll, and drill from 8 to 10, then drill from 10 to 11 o'clock, rest an hour, then drill from 12 to 1 o'clock, then from 3 to 4 o'clock dress parade half past 5. Tattoo at 9¼ o'clock."

Two Union soldiers, with watch chains. Pocket watches were essential tools in a soldier's arsenal. *(Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)*

The same year also found Union Private Rufus Robbins's day scheduled by the clock. Each morning, his Seventh Massachusetts Regiment rose at "half past four. The roll [was] always called at five . . . breakfast at half past six, then drill from seven to eight, then another drill from ten to half past eleven, then from two to three o'clock, then again from four to half past five, then dress parade at half past seven in the evening. . . . Dinner at half past twelve. . . . Supper at half past six." Two years later, the clock-regulated nature of Federal camp life had changed little. In James Horrocks's Fifth New Jersey regiment,

> The bugle sounded about 6 o'clock . . . for all the men to rise. Five minutes after the names were called and then . . . half an hour for breakfast. Then went to the stables, cleaned the horses and fed them. This and cleaning the stables took till 8 o'clock . . . then harnessed the horses and got ready for going out to drill. . . . It was after 11 when we got back [and] had then to unharness the horses and take them to water and then feed them. It was now 12 o'clock. At one we harness[ed] up and drilled till after three. Then watered, cleaned, and fed the horses again, which took till ½ past 4 o'clock. Then . . . had tea and then the bugle sounded for retreat, which means that work is over for the day. The names were called and now it is 6 o'clock.[5]

Life at Camp Walker in New Orleans was equally regulated by the clock. William Watson and the men of the Baton Rouge Rifle Volunteer Company rose each morning at 5:00, had breakfast at 6:00, responded to sick call at 7:00 and guard mounting at 7:30, drilled at 8:30 and 9:30, had lunch at noon. had battalion drill at 4:00 and dress parade at 5:00, had tattoo at 9:00, and ended their workday at 9:30 with mandatory lights-out. It is little wonder that New Yorker Elias Winans Price lamented in March 1863, "I don't have any time to myself. . . . Rise at 5 A.M., on my feet all day, and sometimes until 9 & 10 at night." James Campbell concurred, writing to his cousin of camp life, "One would suppose that I have an abundance of time to myself, but that is not the case."[6] Indeed, the clock monopolized and ordered soldiers' time by slicing activity into discrete parts that disciplined behavior and ordered soldiers' labor.

The clock also scheduled soldiers' guard, sentinel, and picket duties. In June 1861, James Reid of the Fourth Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers

guarded camp near Leesburg, Virginia, from eight in the morning until eight in the evening. Two months later, Reid had guard duty at Camp Pettus, Virginia, on the same twelve-hour stretch. At Camp Old Colony in Taunton, Massachusetts, during the same month, Federal soldier Rufus Robbins stood guard "from ten to twelve A.M., four to six P.M., and four to six A.M." On Sullivan's Island, South Carolina, Berry Benson and the men of the First South Carolina Infantry Regiment "went on guard about every five days . . . at 9 o'clock in the morning and [came] off next morning about 10. During that time, [they] stood guard four times, two in the day and two at night two hours each time."[7] While the geography varied, the clock retained its authority to schedule soldiers' workdays.

Although all time technically belonged to the army, soldiers perceived time free from clock-regulated tasks as leisure time, coming under their ownership, albeit temporarily. According to Confederate soldier Constant C. Hanks, a soldier's life in camp was made up "of two extremes[:] perfect idleness, and laziness, some of the time while at others, we are subject to the severest exercise. . . . [T]ime has passed away swinging between these two extremes." Some soldiers spent their leisure time gambling, playing cards and games, reading, engaging in athletics, or lounging around. Eugene Marshall complained in 1865 that he had "spent the day idly probably shall spend tomorrow idly. The army life is a vagabond life full of idleness and fascination. I do not like it. Since I am idle enough naturally but this is making me worse or at least no better."[8]

Others who had absorbed a stern sense of time thrift in the antebellum era were reluctant to waste leisure time and chose instead to employ it. Despite his love of chess, Albert Theodore Goodloe of the Thirty-fifth Alabama Regiment gave up the game because he believed that it consumed "time that could be better employed." James M. Williams of the Twenty-first Alabama Infantry believed that sleep wasted his precious time. Granted a day off following guard duty in 1862, Williams could not "afford that the day of leisure which has been so hardly earned should be thrown away in sleep." Instead, he engaged in perhaps the most popular leisure time endeavor: writing letters.[9]

Some soldiers, such as Confederate Oren E. Farr, respected the clock's authority: in 1861, he abruptly stopped writing to his sister, Addie, when "the

drum . . . beat for 9 o'clock. . . . [L]ites must be out." Others serving in the war attempted to extend their leisure by ignoring the clock and received punishment for their transgressions. At Camp Carolina near New Bern, North Carolina, an "officer who neglected to make his report at the proper hour" was court-martialed. On one occasion in Cyrus Boyd's Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, reveille sounded at 6:00 A.M., but two or three soldiers "were in their bunks and did not come out. They were slapped on *Extra* duty." At Confederate Camp Cobb near Richmond, Virginia, the penalty was stiffer. According to Eli Pinson Landers of the Sixteenth Georgia Volunteers, ignoring the authority of the clock resulted in a daylong imprisonment in the guardhouse.[10]

Nature, however, could not be punished for subverting the clock's authority and routinely did so, complicating the punctual completion of daily tasks. In 1861, Boyd and his fellow soldiers abandoned their clock-regulated drilling schedule because it was "too cold and windy." Precipitation also frequently reordered the workday, as in March 1862, when "[r]ainy, bad weather" forced the men of the Thirty-fourth New York to amuse themselves "in the playing of cards, reading and lounging around." At a Union camp near Arlington Heights, Virginia, muddy weather caused the cancellation of all drills for January 25, 1862, and again on February 4. Goodloe articulated nature's disruption of clock-regulated drilling when he concluded that the "inevitable Drill had to be gone through with each day the weather would permit."[11]

Although the clock's authority ordered the workweek, religious time, or God's time, controlled Sundays, as had been the case before the war. On Sundays, Civil War commanders abandoned clock-regulated work routines and instead used the clock to regulate God's time. Confederate and Union soldiers initially reserved Sundays as days of rest and relaxation, believing that the work of war was offensive if not heretic for a day dedicated to peace and worship. Yet the war functioned on a schedule independent of the clock and oblivious to God's time. Members of the New York Sabbath Commission worried that the war would destroy the sacredness of the Sabbath. The commission appealed "to the American people to save our Sabbath" by making soldiers observe it as a day of rest.[12] Moreover, northern Sabbatarians reminded the public that Union victory depended

on the divine favor and blessing of God, which was contingent on the appropriate observance of the Sabbath. Sabbatarians appeared to have been proven correct when the war's first major battle, at Bull Run, occurred on a Sunday, and God permitted the Union to go down to defeat.

Following Bull Run, General George B. McClellan took up the cause of Sabbath reform. Casting Confederate soldiers as ungodly men violating the Sabbath, McClellan attempted to restrict the war to six days a week. He announced

> that in future there [should] be more perfect respect for the Sabbath on the part of his command. We are fighting in a holy cause, and should endeavor to deserve the benign favor of the Creator. Unless in the case of an attack by the enemy, . . . it is commended to commanding officers, that all work shall be suspended on the Sabbath, that no unnecessary movements shall be made on that day; that the men shall, so far as possible, be permitted to rest from their labors. . . . [T]he General commanding regards this as no idle form; one day's rest in seven is necessary to men and animals; more than this, the observance of the holy day of the God of Mercy and of Battles is our sacred duty.

On December 17, 1861, Commodore Andrew H. Foote of the U.S. Navy issued a similar order to his men, calling for a "strict observance of Sunday, so far as abstaining from all unnecessary work." In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln issued an executive order to ensure "the orderly observance of the Sabbath." He called for "Sunday labor in the army and navy [to] be reduced to the measure of strict necessity" so that "the discipline and character of the National forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled, by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High."[13]

While the North saw God as a Union sympathizer, the South saw him as a Confederate, identifying its success and ultimately its independence as God's will. For Lieutenant Alexander Haskell of the Seventeenth South Carolina volunteers, the Confederate capture of Fort Sumter was "marked so deeply by the protecting hand of divine Providence that it calls to mind the miraculous victories of the chosen people." Indeed, the victory at Manassas merely affirmed God's commitment to the Confederacy. In 1862, Robert E. Lee issued a general order to the Army of Virginia designed to maintain

God's favor. Like McClellan, Lee provided for a daily inspection but suspended all other war business on Sundays "to afford troops rest and to enable them to attend religious services." Confederate president Jefferson Davis reinforced the idea that the Confederacy's victory depended on God's favor by setting days aside "for fasting, meditation and prayer." When the tide of the war changed, however, southerners such as Pauline DeCaradeuc Heyward believed that Confederate "self-confidence, boasting and pride of the successes accorded us by God, have weighed heavily in the balance against the justice of our cause in the hand of our Creator, and these reverses and terrible humiliations, come from Him to humble our hearts and remind us of our total helplessness without his aid." To regain God's favor, Davis set aside more days for prayer and redemption. In 1864, Lee reissued his Sabbath order, asserting that "none but duties strictly necessary shall be required to be performed on Sunday."[14] He assumed that church services would be conducted, silence would prevail, and soldiers would take a sabbatical from the work of war.

Despite the words of men and the will of God, the war secularized the Sabbath by usurping its temporal authority. Sabbath observance in camp was both contingent—on enforcement by commanders but more importantly on "the ebb and flow of campaigns and the requirements of military discipline and training"—and sporadic.[15] Commanders split on Sabbath observance. Some camps recognized the Sabbath, while others treated it as part of the workweek and refused to punish Sabbath breakers.

William Rosecrans of the Army of Ohio took Lincoln's Sabbath order to heart, making "a policy never to fight on Sundays, and follow[ing] the dictum scrupulously even though it was detrimental to his military success. Thus, at Murfreesboro he refused to pursue his beaten foe on that Sunday after the battle and chose instead to give his army a Sabbath rest. He vowed that his army would rely wholly on God, whom he said, 'never fails those who truly trust.' " The commander of the Tenth Ohio Infantry satisfied his personal religious requirements by giving soldiers Sundays off from the war. For South Carolina's Captain Joseph Julius Westcoat, wartime Sundays were remarkably similar to those in the antebellum era, with "preaching in the afternoon and evening." Watkins Kearns of the Twenty-seventh Virginia Infantry Regiment found that Sundays relieved him of the clock-driven

"monotony of camp" and returned him to a "peaceful Christian Community." The opposite held true for Abial H. Edwards of the Tenth Maine Volunteers and A. B. Mulligan of the Fifth South Carolina Cavalry: the observance of the Sabbath created rather than relieved monotony. Without the work of war, Mulligan noted that "the day looms heavily"; Edwards found Sundays to be "the longest days" and had "to contrive to pass away the time."[16]

Charles Harvey Brewster of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment believed that the Confederates in nearby camps purposely undermined the dignity of the Sabbath. As he wrote, southern troops "generally ma[d]e more noise on [Sunday] than on any other." In the Union army however, Brewster saw very little difference between Sundays in camp and in his native Massachusetts: "you would hear the sound of an ax occasionally, but that is no more than I remember hearing in New Hampton when I was home and when you consider there is nothing to hinder these men from playing ball or performing any other week day operations you will agree with me that it is quite wonderful."[17] For Brewster, the war did not alter Sunday's soundscapes largely because his commanders enforced God's authority in camp.

To many people, however, Brewster's observations were pure illusion, as the war disrupted, subordinated, and secularized God's time. At Camp Cameron in Lynnfield, Massachusetts, George Hitchcock of the Twenty-first Massachusetts Infantry awoke on his "first Sabbath in camp to find a beautiful day and . . . swarms of Sabbath-breakers. . . . No religious exercises were held. . . . A great deal of drunkenness and many arrests during the day have made the sacred hours seem profane." Confederate William L. Nugent noted a similar scene at Calhoun Station, Mississippi: "the Holy Sabbath day—Alas in the army how little regarded." Camped near Corinth, Mississippi, Robert Moore of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment found it "strange to see men out with guns on the Sabbath." John T. McMahon of the 136th New York Regiment also found the sight of men training, building barracks, and drilling to be out of keeping with proper Sabbath observances.[18]

Such frequent usurping of God's time led some men, like Federal soldier A. M. Stewart, to declare that there was no "Lord's day in times of war" because there was "no Sabbath in camp—nothing to distinguish it from

any other day of the week." Nor was God apparent in Isaac Noyes Smith's Twenty-second Virginia Regiment: there was "no preaching, no service, no Godly conversation, no Christian considerations. Everybody is intent upon the shedding of blood, upon war, and its evils, upon the follies of earth and not upon the love, the mercy and goodness of God."[19]

And on the Sabbath, as on other days, battles raged and men prepared to live and die rather than to worship. As Private Joseph Milton Elkins of the Forty-ninth Virginia Regiment told his wife following First Manassas, "We had another great battle Sunday, it commenced at 6 o'clock and ended at 6 o'clock, it was the hardest battle that was ever fought in America." Sunday battles became rather commonplace during the war. In addition to Manassas, the Battle of Shiloh, the beginning of the siege of Vicksburg, the 1863 bombardment of Fort Sumter, the Battle of Chickamauga, the Battle of Chattanooga, the Battle of Spotsylvania, and the Confederate surrender at Appomattox, among others, occurred on the Sabbath. Even the military engagements that occurred on Mondays—for example, the Battle of Drewry's Bluff—required preparations and troop movements on the preceding Sundays to ensure that soldiers were in their appropriate places when it came time to execute the battle plan. During the war, then, it appeared that the "Sabbath [was] signalized . . . as the day for making nearly all important movements of the army." Confederate Charles Norton echoed such sentiments in 1861, when he complained that at Camp Winchester, Virginia, it "seems little like Sunday. . . . Last Sunday we were on the march from Harper's Ferry. The Sunday before we went to the Ferry by cars, and last night, as if Sunday must always be the day, we had orders to . . . be prepared to march during the night."[20]

Norton was not alone in his observations. On the morning of Sunday, April 6, 1862, "the air was warm and calm. The sun shone warm and brightly. The fruit trees were in full bloom and peaceful." The men of the Twelfth Iowa were enjoying the Sabbath until "the startling cry rang through the calm—*'Fall in 12th Iowa,' 'Fall in'* followed by the ominous long roll." While disconcerting and disruptive, Sunday movement was not surprising, as the men of the 102nd Pennsylvania Infantry mused in 1862: "we shall move tomorrow; seeing it will be Sabbath. . . . At midnight orders came for [the] regiment to move down early on Sabbath morning to the mouth of the

Acquia Creek, on the Potomac. . . . The sacred day of rest was, of course, entirely consumed in this movement."[21] Battle time then, subordinated all other activities and reordered soldiers' Sabbaths.

Formal religious services occurred only when "the timing of battle permitted." On April 16, 1862, Confederate Joseph B. Harrell enjoyed "a sermon from the Rev. Mr. Blackwell . . . between the hours of one and two." When military operations resumed, however, such services stopped. The ruling time of the war machine replaced God's time as the ultimate authority on the Sabbath. On November 1, 1861, at camp near Winchester, Virginia, Confederate Reverend W. C. Power began to "preach at 10:30 but troops [were] ordered out." Similarly, Seymour Dexter of the Twenty-third New York wrote from Camp Patten, Virginia, on October 12, 1862, "Sunday morning inspection is over with and there are no more duties until dress parade, unless the order to march comes."[22] The observance of God's time, then, was contingent on the absence of battle. Battles reordered schedules, dictated troop movement, and prohibited chaplains from holding formal clock-regulated services. The war twined religious and secular time.

Thus, in the absence of battle, the clock scheduled both God's time and military events. With the intrusion of battle time, however, clock-regulated schedules were abandoned and leisure and work times conflated as patterns of work, meals, sleep, and leisure became contingent on military events. Uninterrupted slumber became a particularly precious commodity. Sleep eluded Augustus Ayling and the men of the Twenty-ninth Massachusetts Regiment on June 19, 1862: the "night was full of alarms and we spent most of the time in line waiting for an attack." Confederate Watkins Kearns was surprised on the morning of January 12, 1862, when his company, which had intended to remain at the camp for some time, was ordered "to pack up at an early hour." On October 24, 1864, Confederate Lieutenant Aristide Hopkins remarked that the men had "slept . . . till daylight (quite an unusual thing)."[23]

At an unnamed Union camp near Seven Pines, Virginia, battle forced William Kinzer and the men of the Fourth Virginia Infantry Regiment to jettison other clock-regulated routines. At 6:00 P.M. on December 26, 1861, orders informed the soldiers to "cook 1 day's rations. 7 PM order[ed] to cook 2. No tattoo or taps and consequently no roll call. Ordered to have

all cooking done, lights out and in bed by 9 PM" so that the men would be prepared to engage the enemy the following day. The military complex dictated that soldiers of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment "be up at ½ past 3 and stand in line of battle until sunrise . . . to prevent an unexpected attack."[24]

For some companies, reveille at 3:30 was a luxury. On November 3, 1861, reveille sounded at 2:00 A.M. for the men of the Seventeenth Mississippi Regiment. Camped near Goose Creek, Virginia, "Capts. Foote's & Duff's Co's were ordered out on picket but the orders were countermanded, having heard that the alarm was false & that the enemy was not crossing over from Harrison Island." William Bevins and his regiment were aroused "about 1 A.M. on . . . [June] 24th [1861] . . . to march to Shepardsburg," which they reached by 7:00. Charles Mattocks of the Seventeenth Maine had just settled in for the evening on June 15, 1861, "when whewh! went the bugle at 9 o'clock." The regiment "then marched to near Blackburn's Ford [Virginia], where they established as a picket. Each man slept but one hour out of three," and Mattocks returned "to bed at 2 o'clock."[25] Thus, battle subordinated the clock.

Battle also disrupted clock-regulated mealtimes. In July 1863, Ayling reported that there had been no "orders to move this morning, but at noon as [he] was sitting down to . . . dinner of boiled cabbage, without vinegar, and hard bread," his regiment was "ordered to fall in." The preceding September, battle time had rescheduled breakfast at 4:00 A.M. for Justus Silliman and the Seventeenth Connecticut Volunteers. Similarly, on September 19, 1864, battle forced Union soldier John Price Kepner to prepare "a hasty breakfast" at 2:00 A.M. and then to "immediately march."[26]

Battle time also erased the antebellum distinctions between work and leisure, as Charles Harvey Brewster of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment and Joshua K. Callaway of the Shelby Springs, Alabama, Volunteers discovered in May 1862. While penning a letter, Brewster was forced to stop writing "very abruptly by the order to fall in." Battle forced Callaway to jettison his "custom of writing twice a week." as his "regiment was ordered out to breast works."[27]

Battle time's authority clearly overrode all others. Only when there were lulls in battle did the clock's authority rule. According to Marcus Spiegel of

the Twelfth Ohio Infantry, "when the men get orders to ready to march at 12 o'clock, the men are invariably ready," but the flow of battle often "delayed the marching until 4 or 5 o'clock." By 1862, John Henry Pardington of the Iron Brigade realized battle time's authority, writing, "We expect to march every minute. We expect to be in a fight every day and every Hour." Watkins Kearns endured a similar state of tediousness in June of that year, remaining in camp "all day in that unsettled state that one feels when under marching orders."[28] When orders came, all else fell by the wayside.

By November 13, 1863, most soldiers of the Twentieth Michigan Infantry had realized "that an engagement may take place any day, or . . . any hour." In 1864, Horrocks articulated the contingent nature of camp life: "how long I shall remain [at Camp Barry, near Washington, D.C.,] is very uncertain. It is expected that we shall receive marching orders very soon." On April 10, 1862, George Stanley Dewey and the men of the First North Carolina Regiment prepared to "move in a minute should the Yankees make a dash at" them. Union soldier Eugene Marshall summed up battle's power to reorganize all other forms of time when he wrote on March 9, 1865, "I have been doing nothing for two or three days except waiting which is after all the great business of the soldier's life."[29]

Soldiers waited for battle to direct them. With the encroachment of battle, all other times lost their authorities, and battle emerged as the ultimate arbiter of time within Civil War camps. Battle time disrupted, subordinated, and altered clock-regulated patterns of camp life and made completion of clock-regulated tasks contingent on its absence. Battle time reordered camp life by forcing soldiers to revert to the premodern task system to accommodate the demands of battle time.

4

BATTLE TIME

Gender, Modernity, and Civil War Hospitals

"[E]verything [was] done by clockwork, each hour having its appointed duty."

CONFEDERATE NURSE ADA BACOT, Monticello Hospital, Charlottesville, Virginia, January 31, 1862

While men took to the battlefields to ensure their independence, women challenged societal norms and took to the hospitals to care for the wounded. Archetypal womanhood mandated modesty, domesticity, purity, delicacy, gentility, and subordination. Being a nurse meant none or few of these things. It meant working outside the home, challenging male doctors, and "intimacy with male bodies." As historians have demonstrated, this dissonance between the professed ideal of womanhood and the graphic realities of nursing caused male surgeons and hospital staffs to ostracize Civil War nurses. The presence and perseverance of female nurses in Civil War hospitals signified a new independence that freed women from the patriarchal control of antebellum gender relations and accelerated social change. As Mary Elizabeth Massey puts it, "the Civil War provided a springboard from which [women] leaped beyond the circumscribed 'woman's sphere' into that heretofore reserved for men." More recent scholarship has complicated these findings. Although women certainly made gains during the Civil War, Margaret Ripley Wolfe, Jean Friedman, Drew Gilpin Faust, and George Rable have found that these advances were temporary, disappearing after the war.[1]

Although the hospital setting was new, Civil War nurses carried out tasks traditionally performed by women, cleaning, tending, comforting, feeding, and nurturing the wounded much as women had cared for their families, servants, and slaves in the antebellum era. Nursing "sick, wounded, and dying soldiers" was an affirmation and continuation of traditional sex roles. Nursing, according to Jean Berlin, was not a "way to assert [feminine] power in the face of male supremacy; rather, it was an appropriate way for an obedient daughter of the patriarchy to serve her country" while continuing to function within a domestic sphere controlled by men. Other historians have suggested that the gendered relations of the household continued in the hospital's ward. Examining social and labor relations within Civil War hospitals, Jane E. Schultz argues that the work of Civil War nurses was contingent on male authority. Schultz suggests that men, especially doctors, regulated women's time and dictated nurses' actions by controlling the clock and using it to schedule the workday. While the Confederacy and the Union gave doctors legal authority to control nurses' actions, however, male surgeons failed to consistently regulate, coordinate, or dictate the rhythms and patterns of work, as Schultz suggests. Father Time failed to materialize in Civil War hospitals largely because other times continually usurped male time. Instead, the workplace that emerged was regulated by a hierarchy of multiple times that permeated and ultimately controlled work while simultaneously degendering the workplace by conflating gender roles as defined by male surgeons and the clock.[2]

Antebellum Americans recognized that they functioned within a temporal web in which the multiple times of the male workplace penetrated the household and left women with little leisure. For many American women, time was tyrannical because men principally governed it. "The popular delusion," wrote plantation mistress Belle Kearney, was that "antebellum Southern woman, like Christ's lilies, 'toiled not.' Though surrounded by the conditions for idleness she was not indolent." Plantation mistresses were expected "to provide food, warmth, clothing, medical treatment, part of the discipline and most of the religion for their own families and [slaves]. The conscientious mistress . . . had no opportunity for laziness, little for rest." South Carolinian Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle complained that before the

war, it had taken all her mother's "precious time to direct and plan and carry out the work."[3]

Elite white northern women, like their southern counterparts, were reputed to be ladies of leisure. In reality, they occupied their time not so much with trifles and leisures but with the management of domestic servants and the household. Indeed, the sloppiness of their domestics was sinful and thus supervising "servants became in itself" a time-consuming labor. For some elite white women, industrialization made acquiring and maintaining domestics difficult. Sarah Parrott of Portsmouth complained to her brother in 1823 that New Hampshire had "become a manufacturing State, & the demand for girls has been such that almost every family has been in want of domestics it is really a severe affliction." Parrot, like other women in her situation, jettisoned her usual tasks to complete those usually accomplished by domestics. Not surprisingly, women toiled "incessantly, from the time they [rose] in the morning until they [went] to bed at night."[4]

Women's etiquette books suggested ways to manage such immense workloads. T. S. Arthur advised having a "proper regard for time," which was "absolutely necessary to the formation of an orderly habit of doing things. Some persons will waste one hour, and then crowd into the next the duties of both. Of course, the duties are discharged imperfectly." Ideally, the domestic sphere was to "move like clock-work," and tasks were to be completed on time. For those who suffered from chronic lateness, one etiquette manual suggested that the solution lay in a firm understanding of the "economy of time": the "nice arrangement and proper appropriation of [time was] a science . . . important to acquire. Give to every hour its apportioned employment, and you will lend to each in its revolution a charm, which neither idleness nor dissipation ever bestowed." The *American Cotton Planter* suggested that some lateness resulted from "frivolous visitations" that robbed "the industrious . . . of their time." The *American Farmer* counseled that women "need never cease their labors; while visiting or 'resting' they could do their practical sewing," thus insuring the economization of time and completion of tasks.[5]

Women's concerns about the timely accomplishment of domestic tasks lay in the fact that men scheduled women's work and that completion required a mastery of multiple times. Religion, for example, ordered the timing

of daily tasks. In Boston, Mary A. Livermore's family rigorously observed the Sabbath. Because all "work was tabooed on that day, even cooking, winter and summer," the Livermore women completed their domestic tasks on Saturday. The same temporal constraints revealed themselves on the De Saussure plantation in South Carolina, where daily domestic tasks were to be completed between sunrise and sunset prayers.[6] In this case, nature altered the timing of prayers, as the passing of the seasons adjusted the hours of sunrise and sunset.

Seasons also determined the timing and completion of annual tasks and directed work within the household. Each fall and spring, plantation mistresses found themselves "organizing the production of clothing and blankets for the white family and the slaves." Meals were also subject to multiple and interpenetrating times because eating schedules were dictated by the workday, itself influenced by natural time. Men scheduled meals to coincide with breaks in the workday within a time dictated by nature and the clock. Southern planters scheduled lunch to avoid the hottest part of the day; thus, the time changed throughout the year.[7]

Within the household, however, women served as proxies for their husbands' temporal authority. While men had the power to schedule the day, women's ability to maintain punctuality and ensure time discipline permitted the maintenance of the schedule. Contrary to arguments by historians E. P. Thompson and Nancy F. Cott, mistresses and northern housewives often maintained the schedule by marrying domestic chores to both clock time and task orientation. Watches and clocks, for example, timed domestic tasks. An 1833 recipe for sweet apple pudding counseled Maine women to bake the dish "not less than three hours." An 1852 cure called for ill slaves to be given "one powder every 8 hours and 3 hours after the last powder, give[n] a table spoonful of oil." An 1855 recipe advised southern cooks to boil chicken fricassee for twenty minutes and to boil sweetbreads for ten minutes and then parboil them for forty-five minutes.[8] The proper completion of such recipes, then, required a familiarity with and mastery of clock time.

In the case of the Gilman plantation near Charleston, South Carolina, and the Williams household in Utica, New York, the wife's personal timepiece achieved such mastery. Every morning the Gilman plantation's mistress arrived with "her gold watch suspended from her belt, with its face outward,"

ready to organize the day. Helen E. M. Munson Williams's watch ensured that her servants rose promptly "at half past five o'clock" each morning. Despite living more than a thousand miles apart, both women used their timepieces to coordinate, regulate, and order daily domestic tasks. Moreover, women determined punishment for slaves and servants who violated the temporal demands of their work. Delia, a house slave on the McGee plantation in Charlottesville, Virginia, failed to beat the batter for the required twenty minutes, resulting in hard tea biscuits and a beating for Delia at the hands of her mistress. William Henry Singleton's mistress similarly punished him for failing to return from his task on time.[9] While the clock and multiple times ordered a woman's work, she in turn regulated the labor of slaves and servants by her clock and time.

White women's nondomestic work also demanded temporal precision and a mastery of multiple times and their application to labor. Most elite antebellum women participated in some form of charity work, including temperance and abolition, deemed to be within women's realm.[10] Since most organizations were located in urban settings, more northern women than southern women participated in external charity work. All, however, functioned within a world of multiple times that required them to balance the demands of their domestic work with the clock-regulated nature and task orientation of their nondomestic work.

In 1823 the women of the Female Benevolent Society in Raleigh, North Carolina, sought to achieve such balance. The organization required two members to "attend in rotation every Thursday evening at 4 o'clock at the School to examine the children as to the progress they have made on scholastic and religious knowledge and work."[11] This rotation system allowed these women to split their time, and the use of the clock enabled them to schedule their charity work with minimal disruption of their domestic schedules. Such skills would serve these women well during the Civil War.

Women's antebellum experiences in mastering time's complexities prepared both men and women to function successfully within the multiple temporalities of Civil War hospitals. As mentioned earlier, however, at the beginning of the conflict, the Confederate States of America and the United States of America endeavored to mute these numerous times in an attempt to create an orderly, precise, and modern war machine based on the clock.

In terms of Civil War hospitals, this meant that nurses functioned within a temporal hierarchy established by men and nature but based on the clock.[12]

At the Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, Virginia, male administrators used the clock to regiment sleep patterns and mealtimes. Confederate matron Phoebe Yates Pember and her staff were scheduled to rise each day at 5:00 A.M.; breakfast "was at seven in the morning in summer and eight in winter." Dinner was "at two o'clock [and] Supper at six." Hospital employees distributed medicine at 10:00 A.M., 2:00 P.M., 6:00 P.M., and bedtime. Believing that tea and coffee disrupted the body's natural rhythms and "produce[d] sleeplessness," doctors prohibited their distribution after 5:00 in the evening. The clock similarly regulated Union nurse Rebecca R. Pomroy's life at College Hospital in Washington, D.C. She was scheduled to rise at 5:00 A.M., to have breakfast prepared for the men at 6:00 A.M., to eat her breakfast at 7:00, to answer the surgeon's call at 8:00, to distribute medicine beginning at 11:00, to serve lunch at noon and dinner at 5:00 P.M., and—if off duty—to go to bed at 8:30 and have her lights extinguished at 9:00. At Kent and Paine's Hospital in Richmond, the hours "from seven to seven during the day" determined Confederate nurse Sara Rice Pryor's workday.[13] Confederate nurse Ada Bacot of Monticello Hospital in Charlottesville, Virginia, spoke for many on both sides of the War when she claimed that "everything [was] done by clock work, each hour having its appointed duty."[14]

Despite Bacot's assertion, the clock was not hegemonic even when applied by male surgeons and officers. Clock time could not be the absolute arbiter or ultimate authority in Civil War hospitals because other times often disrupted, displaced, co-opted, and contested it. Biological time, for example, trumped clock time: ailments, illnesses, and diseases functioned on schedules independent of the clock. Hospitals could be forced temporarily to disregard clock-regulated time in favor of task-oriented labor dictated by patients' medical needs.[15]

The needs of the wounded and the newly wounded and the ticks of the clock defined and routinely extended Civil War nurses' and surgeons' clock-defined workdays. Pember often went "from bed to bed till long past midnight," tending to her patients. Hundreds of men and their ailments governed her days. Each patient required "different drinks many times

Clock in Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond, Virginia. Hospital clocks ideally regulated work, leisure, and sleep patterns, as well as mealtimes. *(Courtesy of the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. Photograph by Katherine Wetzel.)*

each day, ordered by numerous surgeons, prepared to suit different states of disease and palate." For Pember, "no hour [brought] the same orders" because patients' medical conditions constantly changed and thus reordered her activities.[16]

The medical needs of Bacot's patients ordered her activities. When "most of the wounded were doing finely," she did not have to be at the hospital at her usual 7:00 A.M. When the biological demands of the wounded changed, however, so did Bacot's schedule. She often rose at 5:30 A.M., fixing "punch, poultices, and plates" until well into the night. In some cases, it was nearly 1:00 or 2:00 A.M. when she finally went to bed for the night. The demands of the wounded occasionally permitted her to rest only "from ½ 3 until 7."[17]

Richmond nurse Judith W. McGuire abandoned her other responsibilities to spend "hour after hour" comforting patients, as did Annie E. Johnson of Danville, Virginia, and Union nurses Mary Phinney von Olnhausen and Mary Newcomb. In 1862, Johnson "remained for hours by the bedside of a boy soldier." Stationed at Mansion House Hospital in Alexandria, Virginia, von Olnhausen vowed that she would "never leave a man to sleep [or] to eat when I think he is soon to die; it seems at least as if a woman ought to close these poor fellows' eyes." At Mound City Hospital, near Cairo, Illinois, nurse Newcomb ignored the posted clock-regulated rules, "got a basin of water, used [her] handkerchief for a wash-cloth and by careful management, after two hours work . . . got [her patient] cleaned up. . . . This was about ten o'clock at night, when a wardmaster came tripping up" and told her that she was "violating the order of the head surgeon": lights were supposed to be extinguished at 9:00. The medical needs of four men recovering in her Richmond hospital monopolized Emily Mason's time. She spent hours running "from one to the other, trying to tear with [her] fingers the white, leathery substance which spread over the mouth, and even came out upon the lips."[18] In such instances, biologically regulated task time subordinated clock time.

For hospital employees, the arrival of large numbers of wounded impinged on leisure time, conflated leisure and work, and ultimately superseded leisure. This blurring of work and leisure in Civil War hospitals suggests a temporary atavism to premodern life in the context of a war often paraded as modern.[19] Indeed, battle time again supplanted multiple times.

In 1863, battle time robbed Confederate Dr. William H. Robertson of his leisure time. In the aftermath of battle, Robertson spent "all hours of the day or night, to attend the bedsides of his patients." That same year, following the battle of Gettysburg, four Union surgeons, "none of whom were idle fifteen minutes at a time, were busy all day amputating legs and arms." In 1865, fighting near Richmond forced Chimborazo's surgeons to "remain in the Hospital until further orders from 9 A.M. to 1½ P.M. and from 4 to 7 P.M." When the battle extended beyond these set hours, surgeons abandoned the clock and already expanded working hours grew further. "Day and night were words that had no meaning" for most Civil War surgeons, but according to Union nurse Katherine Prescott Wormeley, Drs. Olmstead and Knapp particularly embraced the notion, frequently ignoring their leisure time and tending the wounded until day and night became indistinguishable. Indeed, the biological demands of the injured overrode surgeons' leisure time and forced them to work.[20]

Battle time was not gendered, and the needs of the injured frequently extended nurses' working hours as well as those of doctors. "Walking through the streets" of Richmond "after the duties of the hospital were over," Pember frequently found the "pavement around the railroad depot . . . crowded with wounded men" fresh from battle. In task-oriented fashion, she went from "sufferer to sufferer, trying to alleviate . . . the pain of the fresh wounds." The wounded also impinged on the leisure time of nurses Susan Blackford, von Olnhausen, and Sadie Curry. Confederate nurse Blackford and Union nurse von Olnhausen gave up their regular letter-writing time to care for the wounded, while the idea of specific working hours held no meaning for southerner Curry, who, along with Confederate nurse Ella K. Newsom, took "no account of the lapse of time," nursing "both night and day." Nurse Amy Morris Bradley of the Third Maine Regiment wished that she "had kept a journal, and noted every incident of interest! But [her] time was too much occupied" with caring for the injured.[21]

In some cases, nurses' health problems subordinated the demands of both the clock and the injured. Large battles with massive casualties exacerbated the already grueling demands of nursing and brought nurses' health needs into conflict with the requirements of work as dictated by battle. As a

result, nurses "worked long hours under sad and strenuous conditions" that wearied them and often resulted in debilitating and "contagious diseases."[22]

At Confederate nurse Kate Cumming's Tennessee hospital, most female volunteers became ill, as did "many of the nurses." Health concerns encouraged one of Cumming's colleagues to leave as "she was very sick; and one of the doctors informed her, if she did not leave immediately, she would certainly die." Cumming feared a similar fate, as did Pember, for whom the "strain had become too great." The "constantly recurring agitation which had been exciting each day . . . had broken [her] down completely." She visited the "surgeon-general with a request for a month's leave of absence[, which] met with ready acquiescence." While tending patients in a Morehead City, North Carolina, hospital, in October 1864, von Olnhausen contracted yellow fever, leaving her "weaker than usual from being over-tired," although she survived the illness.[23]

Having "been constantly engaged with a wounded soldier" in a Lynchburg, Virginia, hospital, Blackford was "broken down by [her] efforts and could not perform any other duties." A foot injury brought on "from so much walking in hospitals" forced Union nurse Jane Grey Swisshelm to take several furloughs from her duties. After spending all night caring for a tuberculosis patient, Columbia, South Carolina, nurse Mrs. Campbell Bryce "was prostrated for several days thereafter, the strain on mind and body, having been too great."[24]

Union nurse Hannah Ropes and a Confederate nurse named Wright, among others, sacrificed their lives for their work. Ropes contracted a fatal case of typhoid while tending to her patients in January 1863. Wright, a Virginian, also "saved life at the sacrifice of her own," dying while tending tuberculosis patients.[25] Battle time, then, complicated the desired clock-imposed order and regimentation in Civil War hospitals. It reordered work and consequently created new times in which the demands placed on nurses' bodies took precedence over the demands of the clock as well as those of the wounded.

But battle time's influence was not gendered. The same battle-induced temporal dislocation and biological limitations that made "the nurses sick and broken down" also affected men. As Frank Hawthorn, the surgeon in

charge of Chattanooga's Foard Hospital, explained, "The surgeons of whom there are only two are both tired & sick." The rigorous physical demands of the wounded also wore out Hawthorn. At the Union's Morehead City hospital, Dr. Bellangee contracted yellow fever and soon died. Confederate surgeon W. Woodward "was taken with fever" in August 1863, rendering him unable to perform his duties at a Tallahassee, Florida, hospital.[26] As in the case of nurses, Hawthorn's, Bellangee's, and Woodward's biological needs conflicted with work dictated by the ruthless nature of battle time.

While the onset of battle could to some extent be controlled, the duration or outcome could not. Battle time directed not only the arrival of new patients but also the mobilization and evacuation of Civil War hospitals, once again overriding clock time and biological times.

The "pitiful sight of the wounded in ambulances, furniture wagons, carts, carriages, and every kind of vehicle that could be impressed" routinely greeted Pember. Although "no arrangements [were] made for their comfort" and the staff at Richmond's Chimborazo Hospital was completely unprepared, doctors and nurses mobilized and cared for the newly wounded. Following the Battle of Fredericksburg, Mason's Confederate hospital was "ordered to have ready eight hundred beds. . . . [C]onvalescents, and the old soldiers . . . were sent to town hospitals, and we made ready for the night when come in the eight hundred. . . . They came so fast it was impossible to undress and examine them. So upon the floor of the receiving wards, the men were placed in rows on each side their ghastly burdens, covered with blood and dirt, stiff with mud and gravel from the little streams into which they often fell." Hospital matron S. L. A. Bidd was equally unable to care for the wounded suddenly thrust on her unprepared Montgomery, Alabama, hospital: "piles of fresh straw were laid bedshape on the floors" to accommodate the wounded.[27] The capricious timing of battles' ends disrupted hospital clock time, subordinated biological times, and inscribed a temporal rhythm more reminiscent of the task than the clock onto the supposedly punctual and orderly hospital routine.

Battle time operated in much the same way at Bacot's hospital and at the Armory Square Federal Hospital in Washington, D.C. The battle's time frame dictated the degree to which hospitals were prepared to receive the newly wounded. Soldiers' needs often taxed the hospital staff's ability. In

1862, hospital administrators ordered the Monticello Hospital to "ready accommodations for . . . eight hundred or a thousand men." At Armory Square, Harriet W. F. Hawley received a similar order following the Battle of the Wilderness, when although the hospital "was calculated to accommodate about nine hundred . . . it was made [ready] for fourteen hundred."[28] Because clock-regulated schedules were frequently ignored and replaced by more efficient task systems, hospitals could function above their capacity. When the wounded arrived, hospitals remained in disarray, but nurses, surgeons, and other staffers tended to the men.

Similar confusion occurred following the January 1863 Battle of Murfreesboro. At Cumming's Chattanooga, Tennessee, hospital, a steady procession of bloody men continued until midnight, completely dominating the attention of the hospital staff: "[E]very corner of the hospital [was] filled with patients, and the attendants had to give up their beds for them. None but the slightly wounded [were] brought here, but they are bad enough. Many have to be carried from the ambulances, as they are unable to walk. We have sent off a great many to-day, to make room for others who will be in to-night. All that I . . . have been able to do for them is to see that they get enough to eat. . . . Our cooks have been up for two or three nights in succession; the surgeons and nurses the same."[29] Although the capacity of Mound City Hospital was only twelve hundred, following the May 1865 "quick march home," the hospital took "in fourteen hundred and ninety men" whose arrival disrupted and reordered all other hospital activities.[30] In this way, clock time and biological times lost their temporal authority. The biological demands of the hospital's current patients became secondary to the biological demands of the newly wounded, a process that undermined what was supposed to be the regular and clock-driven nature of Civil War hospitals. Battle time became the true arbiter not least because it dictated work and ordered time.

Battle time also directed the mobilization and evacuation of hospitals. With each Union or Confederate victory, troops advanced, jeopardizing the opponent's hospitals and forcing medical facilities to move patients and equipment. This was certainly the case in Lynchburg, Virginia: "when the Federals were known to be approaching most of the surgeons, hospital staff, and patients were hastily removed." During the Battle of Corinth,

Mississippi, Mary Bickerdyke's "hospital came within range of [Confederate] artillery, and the fearful missiles of death fell with fatal precision among her helpless men. There was no alternative but to remove the fellows again." When the battle ended, however, the men "were carried back to their hospital."[31]

Battle time frequently superseded the multiple times in which the Confederacy's S. E. D. Smith and the Union's von Olnhausen functioned. An 1863 skirmish forced Smith's hospital to prepare "to leave at a moment's warning." This order took precedence over other activities. Another battle that same year caused the U.S. Army to call for the removal of the Mansion House Hospital to Philadelphia. This massive relocation occupied all of von Olnhausen's time: "every man who could be moved" was. On June 27, 1862, during the Battle of Gaines' Mill, Union nurse and soldier Sarah Emma Edmonds delivered evacuation orders to Union hospitals in the area. "Surgeons, nurses, and such of the patients as could walk, to take care of themselves as best they could," should evacuate as "no ambulances could reach them. . . . [T]he army was retreating to the James River, and if [the hospital's staff and patients] remained longer they would fall into the hands of the enemy."[32]

Battle time also disrupted and reordered the hospitals of Richmond and Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina. Striking at "the weakest point of the Confederate lines," U.S. General Ulysses S. Grant occupied Richmond in April 1865. His victory forced the evacuation of those hospitals that remained intact. William Tecumseh Sherman's sacking and burning of Columbia in 1865 profoundly altered the city's temporal landscape. Daily routines were disrupted, homes were destroyed, timepieces were stolen, and hospitals were disbanded as every nurse, doctor, and patient "who could drag himself away somewhere" did so to escape the Federal forces. Similarly, Charleston's 1865 surrender dictated "a frenzied flight from the doomed city," with those "too ill to be moved . . . left behind."[33]

Civil War nurses and hospital staffs recognized that they functioned in multiple times controlled by battle time, which took no consideration of gender. While women performed essentially feminine tasks, they did so outside of the largely patriarchal temporality of antebellum American society. Men were no longer the controlling force in nurses' lives. However, with

the quieting of battle and the conclusion of the Civil War, the degendering effects of battle time proved ephemeral. Civil War hospitals closed their doors, and nurses returned to the multiple and gendered temporalities of the antebellum era.[34]

Not surprisingly, the temporal world of postbellum domesticity changed little from that of the antebellum era, at least for whites. Natural, religious, mechanical, and male times continued to regulate the rhythms of women's work and leisure. The multiple times of the male sphere still permeated the household and ordered women's work. After the war, however, time became increasingly tyrannical for many former plantation mistresses. Emancipation changed the nature of the plantation mistress's work but not the plantation's schedule. Supervising her house slaves and ensuring the prompt and punctual completion of male-scheduled domestic tasks comprised most of the antebellum plantation mistress's day. Following the Civil War, however, the plantation mistress's work became increasingly labor-intensive as African Americans temporarily removed their labor power, forcing women to complete as well as supervise the completion of domestic tasks.[35]

For many southern men, the real tragedy of the war lay not in the Confederacy's "thrashing" by the North but in the fact that the Yankees had transformed southern belles "into hewers of wood and drawers of water" exhausted by constant labor. "Plantation mistresses had never led very leisurely lives, and after emancipation their days were often filled with heavy physical labor. Because house servants were usually the first to leave and the last to return," domestic laborers were difficult to acquire. Floridian Susan Bradford Eppes woke up on January 1, 1866, to find her family "the only occupants of Pine Hill plantation. It was a clean sweep, all were gone. Nobody to get breakfast; nobody to clean up the house; no maid to look after the wants of 'milady'; no butler to serve the meals; no carriage-driver if we should care to ride. Not a servant, not one and we unused to work." Such was the state of the Charles Manigault's Charleston, South Carolina, plantation in 1865, as he described to his son: "Every individual of our Negro Servants have left us and your two Sisters, & Victoire do everything. . . . Victoire Cooks-Washes-Milks the Cow, &c, &c. and your two sisters do all they possibly can in conjunction with her." Samuel Agnew was so shocked at the prospect of his wife performing slave labors such as washing that

he took over such tasks. In most cases, the exodus of house slaves from plantations required white women to rise earlier, stay up later, and "work harder and faster" to complete their tasks.[36]

A simple task such as "preparing a meal became certainly an arduous, sometimes a humorous, and occasionally a dangerous undertaking." On one occasion, Mississippi's Belle Kearney tried to get breakfast ready in a hurry, "as an unusual amount of work was on hand. . . . In attempting to turn some batter-cakes the hot lard splashed on [her] fingers, burning them cruelly" and causing her to exclaim "how dreadful it [was] to have to cook!" Charlestonian Emma Holmes attempted to roast fowl in August 1865 but did not "know how to commence" and had to appeal to a house servant for help. Holmes "didn't spoil the dinner" but did express her hatred: "I don't like cooking or washing. Even the doing up of muslins is great annoyance to me, & I do miss . . . having [things] all ready prepared to my hand."[37]

As in the South, the old adage that a "man's work is from sun to sun, but a woman's work is never done" held true in the North. According to the *Ohio Farmer,* women were to

> [w]ash and dress the children, having provided their clothes the night before; see that breakfast is under way to suit a fault-finding husband; the wash-boiler on with water for the wash, and the clothes assorted ready for washing; the dish water heating, and a luncheon thought out for the school goers; a nice dinner in the good man's dinner pail; the beds made after proper airing, and the bugs fought off and kept down; . . . the systematic sweeping of the house at least once a week and of living rooms once to three times a day, according to the number of men to bring in the mud; the actual washing and out hanging of clothes; the drying, sprinkling and folding, and to-morrow, the ironing the same; the sorting and mending of them, and provision of new ere the old give out; the making of bread three times a week with cake and pies intercalated judiciously; pickles, preserves, and cellar stores to be laid in and not forgotten in their season; children's manners to be attended to; company to be entertained; her own person to be tidied up to please his eye; the tired HIM to be welcomed and waited on by the no less tired HER, and the home made cheerful, his trowsers to be patched after he goes to bed, "so he can put them on in the morning"; the children to be helped about

> their lessons and reminded not to forget their Sunday school lesson; the shopping and marketing to be done for the household; repairs attended to and matters in general kept straight around home . . . to please her husband and her God.

An 1872 edition of the *Maine Farmer* advised women to use the clock to ensure the completion of such tasks. "At eight o'clock in the evening, the little folks go to bed, the kitchen is put to rights, the table laid for breakfast and covered with a cloth. Whatever is to be for the meal is got handy, so when morning comes, the mother can make herself and little ones tidy without being hurried." All women were to set an "example of industry."[38] As in the antebellum era, domestic time was gendered: women had to complete work within parameters set by men, God, nature, and the clock.

Those women directing rather than completing labor were advised to schedule "meals at regular hours," thereby enabling servants to "accomplish their work in due time. Besides, they usually make your irregularity an excuse for their neglect of duty." In the case of cooks, mistresses avoided such irregularity by supplying "forks, spoons, skewers, aprons, [and] a kitchen clock." Inculcating punctuality, counseled etiquette expert Julia McNair, avoided overall laxness. Women needed to establish an "exact minute for the ringing of the bell for each meal; an exact minute for setting out for church; when we plan to go out, we should set an exact minute for going, and we should be ready on time; we have no rights to waste other people's time, to rile their tempers; to keep affairs from going smoothly by being behind-hand; it is as easy to be five minutes too soon, as five minutes too late; lack of punctuality is a domestic crime." While men continued to schedule women's work, women drew on their mastery of multiple times to ensure completion of tasks. Men forbade women to "wash, or iron, or bake, or do other work usually done on week days" on Sunday. Accordingly, women had to prepare Sunday's meals on Saturday. Following the completion of Saturday's dinner, women should take "the remaining vegetables and make hash for Sunday's breakfast" and should prepare "cold sliced meat and baked potatoes, with bread and butter and pie" for Sunday dinner. Etiquette guides advised women directing the work of servants to take "care that everything that is possible to be done on Saturday and so arrange your affairs that your

servants may have at least half the day on Sunday to attend the worship of Almighty God." Moreover, the completion of any necessary Sunday work was governed by God's time, which limited the available hours to those between church services, and natural time could also come into play. When weather conditions made travel too difficult, women abandoned church and used this time to complete domestic tasks.[39]

As had been the case both before and during the war, postwar women worked within constraints set by the clock as well as those set by religion and nature. Temporal authority became increasingly important for women charged with preparing their own meals. Pea soup, the *Maine Farmer* advised its readers in 1869, should be "[c]overed very closely" and boiled "for five hours." To make a successful cake, an 1871 recipe advised southern women that "three-quarters of an hour will bake a one-pound sponge cake; one and a half hours for a pound cake," while "fruit cake required longer baking than any other; one-pound requires two hours; two-pounds four hours."[40]

Postwar women fortunate enough to have servants also often had problems obtaining the punctual and timely completion of domestic tasks. Without the whip to instill time discipline, the clock became increasingly important. In 1865, a Georgia plantation mistress ordered her cook "to have breakfast on the table at seven o'clock sharp." The next morning, "there was no breakfast, no cook, no lunch." The cook's violation of the clock's authority resulted in her unemployment. The indolence of servants remained a problem six years later, and one woman advised readers of *Southern Planter and Farmer,* "My greatest assistant in having work done orderly and in time has been the kitchen clock. Allot so much time for a specified work; take the trouble to overlook personally for a few days. When a servant finds out that you know how long it takes to accomplish certain work you will be astonished to find out how much more rapidly your domestic matters will be arranged. . . . The clock helps wonderfully in these arrangements, as you will soon find out."[41] Economic and physical coercion enforced the power of the clock.

Many former household mistresses, however, performed rather than ordered the performance of household tasks. Even with some assistance from servants, these women found domestic work challenging, grueling, onerous, overwhelming, and time consuming. South Carolinian Grace Brown Elmore

spoke for many others when she said, "We have truly said good-bye to being ladies of leisure, my time seems fully occupied and often I do not have time to sleep even. My hour for rising is 5 o'clock, at 6 I come down and see the bread made, then comes breakfast; after a multitude of small cares, together with much dirty work. . . . Can there be anything more dispiriting than my present mode of life, from five in the morning till 11 at night being incessantly called on to hear and rectify the needs of our establishment. And I have to bear it all alone." Eppes echoed these sentiments in September 1865, complaining that her work robbed her of her leisure and left her unable even to find time to write in her journal. Instead, sewing, making and remaking plans, arriving and departing visitors, and helping her mother with the housekeeping occupied Eppes's time. The removal of African American labor from Anne Smith's Georgia plantation left the former mistress with "one servant, a common country hand, willing, but knows very little & who cooks & Washes." Smith and her sister did "all the house work & . . . made all the bread & prepared most of the vegetables & ironed the 'Sunday' shirts & pantaloons." As a result, she retained "little time on hand." The continuous strain of work led Eppes to declare that every bone in her body ached at the end of the day. West Virginian Frances Walker Yates Aglionby mused that her "life [was] one of incessant toil," and North Carolinian Fanny Irwin reflected that at the end of the day, she "was tired enough to enjoy the bed."[42]

Northern etiquette guides suggested that women regulated and organized such toil according to the clock. Etiquette expert Todd S. Goodholme advised that clocks "are so cheap now that their usefulness and companionableness should secure them a place in every room in the house." In particular, the kitchen should have a clock, "for on it a great deal of the comfort, and some of the good temper of the family depends."[43]

In Civil War hospitals, staffs turned to their antebellum experiences to master times' complexities and thereby ensure completion of necessary work. Nurses and other members of hospital staffs recognized that they functioned in multiple times regulated by an overarching hierarchy in which modern clock time was often supplanted by biological times and a more efficient yet putatively premodern task system in the context of a modern war. In turn, a single nongendered time controlled these temporal pluralities.

Battle time reconfigured the activities of nurses, surgeons, and the hospitals in which those women and men worked. In this context, battle time caused a temporary revolution in gender relations, stripping men of their traditional temporal authority over themselves as well as over women. With the southern defeat at Appomattox and the conclusion of the Civil War, however, battle time's authority disappeared, and southern female nurses returned to their gendered plantation worlds while northern female nurses reentered the gendered worlds of domesticity. The silencing of battle thus marked an end to the temporal freedom women had experienced in Civil War hospitals.

5

DOING TIME

The Cannon, the Clock, and Civil War Prisons

Dick Turner, the warden of Libby Prison, "seemed an excellent disciplinarian. Everything went like clockwork. We knew what to expect or rather what not to expect, *and* when."

UNION PRISONER HOMER B. SPRAGUE

"Indolence," Dorothea Dix maintained, "opened the portal . . . to vice and crime" and thus threatened to disrupt the desired industrious nature of antebellum society by undermining order and damaging the country's republican fabric. Not only did criminals waste their own time, but their crimes resulted in "the loss of time of officers and others, in PURSUING and ARRESTING CRIMINALS."[1] Because criminals served time for using time unwisely, antebellum penitentiaries attempted to rehabilitate offenders by inculcating appropriate habits. While some southern penitentiaries embraced these systems, the racial situation in the South complicated criminal prosecution. Slavery forced the creation of two discrete systems of punishment because in most cases, the hierarchical relationship between blacks and whites prohibited equal treatment under the law. Consequently, state penitentiaries largely housed white criminals, while planters and the plantation system dealt with the majority of black criminals. Both systems, however, functioned in multiple times determined by God, nature, and the clock.

In the antebellum era, society sought to rehabilitate criminals by forcing them to abandon their idleness and sloth and to substitute habits of labor, industry, and thrift. The clock was the mechanism for achieving this

transformation, and the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems were the ways in which it was to be implemented. Adopted in New York, New Hampshire, Arkansas, and Maryland, among other places, the Auburn system required prisoners to sleep alone and work together during the day in complete silence. Day labor, advocates argued, drove idleness from the prisoner and substituted habits of industry. Silence permitted the blending of labor and solitude. It extended evening reflection into the daytime while engaging the body as well as the mind in industry.[2]

In contrast, the Pennsylvania system did not require complete silence. The Pittsburgh and Eastern State penitentiaries required inmates, "men of idle habits, vicious propensities, and depraved passions," to be kept in solitary confinement and, for the first week of their imprisonment, forced idleness. Such deprivation was intended to encourage convicts to face their crimes, develop distain for indolence, and prevent its spread through contact with other idlers. Advocates believed that the "want of occupation . . . produce[d] feelings of tedium or irksomeness—the state of mind in which labor or employment . . . appear[ed] to the convict—perhaps for the first time in his life, as a means of preventing uneasy feelings, or producing relief and pleasure." Inmates learned that labor was more pleasant than idleness, developed "a voluntary habit of labor," and became "inured to habits of industry," thus permitting them to reenter society as productive members.[3]

While the Auburn and Pennsylvania systems assumed that inmates could be rehabilitated into industrious members of society, the southern criminal system functioned on a different level. Whites were worthy of rehabilitation and generally found it in state penitentiaries. (In South Carolina, local jails and lockups rehabilitated white criminals.) Considered indolent and innately depraved, blacks were beyond true rehabilitation. They could however, be forced to embrace habits of industry, order, and time discipline.[4]

For some slaves, the inculcation of these values came with incarceration in state penitentiaries. On May 13, 1848, a slave identified only as Louis was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment in the Louisiana State Penitentiary. Another slave, Lucinda, received a life sentence at the same institution on May 9, 1852, for the crime of attempted poisoning. Still another slave, Lewis, received life for the crime of arson and began his sentence on September

27, 1852. At the Louisiana State Penitentiary, slaves, like other inmates nationwide, lived life according to the clock.[5]

The majority of slaves, however, did not serve jail time. Because slaves did not own their time, any incarceration cost masters valuable labor. Consequently, most slaves remained, were punished, and were forced to inculcate habits of industry on southern plantations, where clock-regulated horns and bells measured time and where planters punished slaves who violated the clock's aural authority. "Planters preferred whipping to incarceration because the lash did not generally lead to an extended loss of the slave's labor." In short, "whipping persisted in the South because the cost of substituting hunger and incarceration for the lash was greater for the slave owner than for the northern employer of free labor." Planter Richard Eppes believed that to eliminate the whip "would be worse than the abolition of capital punishment, it is the substitute by the laws of the state of a Penitentiary, as the Negro slave must receive the lash. . . . When a crime occurs on a plantation or a Negro is universally careless and indolent, he cannot be paid his wages and dismissed as the man in the North or in Europe."[6]

In many ways, state penitentiaries replicated the plantation system. The clock retained authority and scheduled the six-day workweek, while the whip often punished those who maintained their indolence. A typical day at the New Hampshire State Prison began at 4:30 A.M. Prisoners worked until 7:00 A.M., ate breakfast, worked from 8:00 to noon, had lunch, and worked until 7:00 P.M. In the New Jersey State Penitentiary, the close of the day was signaled by "the ringing of a bell at 9 o'clock, P.M.," at which time "every prisoner must retire, and a profound silence must be observed from the time until the ringing of the bell in the morning."[7]

Clock-regulated bells ordered the workday within penitentiaries but also functioned within the context of multiple times. The passing of the seasons forced the readjustment of clock time. In 1804, prisoners at the New Jersey State Penitentiary, for example, worked "from sun rise, until within three quarters of an hour of sun set, allowing half an hour for breakfast, one hour in winter, and one hour and a half in summer for dinner, and half an hour for supper. . . . In winter breakfast at 8, dinner at 12, and supper at 4. In the summer breakfast at 9, dinner at 12, and supper at 6."[8] Natural time thus forced prisoners to function in multiple times.

As in larger society, the Sabbath augmented the multiple times of nature and the clock. In penitentiaries, prison officials reserved the day for God and terminated all clock-regulated prison activities except church services and meals. Prisons on the Auburn system provided divine services on the Sabbath and mandated that prisoners attend silently. Those penitentiaries on the Pennsylvania system of solitary confinement also held church services, yet the men remained separated and in their cells, able only to hear the word of God and the messages of rehabilitation. Religion, then, in combination with labor, silence, and solitude, was to provide criminals with "lifelong habits of industriousness."[9]

Although natural time and God's time clearly readjusted clock time, the clock continued to underscore the penitentiary system and rehabilitative mission. Those who violated the clock's authority were in fact challenging the entire system, and prison officials punished violators for their transgressions. Like southern planters, Sing Sing, Auburn, and the Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland penitentiaries recruited the whip to instill time discipline and punctuality and thereby create productive members of society.[10]

During the Civil War, however, prisons fulfilled a different function. Abandoning their rehabilitative function, prisons became holding pens that housed Union and Confederate troops for periods of time contingent on the military complex. Within these prison camps, mechanical, religious, and natural times continued to regulate and order prison life; however, the ultimate temporal authority, battle time, ruled over these multiple times. The ebb and flow of battles dictated the number of prisoners captured, the creation of prisons to house such prisoners, and the release of prisoners. With the silencing of battle, commanders dismantled Civil War prison camps, battle time's authority dissipated, and postbellum prisons returned to their antebellum task of transforming idle and slothful members of society into productive, industrious, and thrifty people.

Because most antebellum Americans misjudged the prospective length of the Civil War, the Confederacy and the Union were unprepared to house prisoners. When it became apparent that the war was going to last longer than expected, Union and Confederate leaders scrambled to mobilize and organize for a prolonged war. Just as neither side was prepared to deal with

the scores of wounded, neither was prepared to receive prisoners captured during battle. Thus, both the United States of America and the Confederate States of America turned to the clock to graft order onto chaos.

Faced with housing vast numbers of prisoners for extended periods of time, the moderately successful Auburn and Pennsylvania systems lost their currency. The Union and Confederate military complexes were not interested in rehabilitating soldiers and were unable to rapidly construct prisons that suited the two systems' philosophical premises. The number of prisoners as well as the expense of housing large numbers of men in complete solitude made the replication of such systems unrealistic. As a result, converted buildings, fields, and former state penitentiaries served as Civil War prisons. Although Civil War prisons abandoned most vestiges of their antebellum form, they did retain, albeit in a limited manner, a code of quasi silence. More importantly, however, Civil War prisons recruited the authority of the clock to maintain order.

Clock time organized Civil War prisons much as it had those of the antebellum era. Perhaps in an attempt to prevent conflicts over official time as well as violence, entering prisoners were often relieved of their watches and thus their time. Such was the case for Captain Thomas Simpson of the First Rhode Island Light Artillery. When he entered the Confederacy's Libby Prison in Richmond, Virginia, officials permitted Simpson to keep his personal effects with the notable exceptions of his watch and his money. Some prisoners willingly bartered away or sold timepieces smuggled past prison officials. While interned in Richmond's Pemberton Prison, Daniel G. Kelly of the Twenty-fourth New York Regiment traded his watch for a blanket. At Andersonville, one inmate "was violently assailed . . . while asleep and robbed . . . of $85 dollars and a watch."[11] Such crimes became commonplace and suggest that mechanical timepieces lost their intrinsic value inside of prisons.

The essential value of a watch did not lie in its status as a symbol of modernity or affluence or even in its exchange value but rather in its ability accurately to tell time, thus enabling the wearer to be punctual and independent and to have a sense of owning time. Both before and during the Civil War, men went to great lengths to acquire timepieces or to have their timepieces fixed to ensure accuracy. Timepieces in prison, however, lost

their currency because they lost their purpose. Institutional time governed by the prison's clock, bells, or watchman's calls eliminated personal time and rendered watches valuable for their bargaining power rather than their function.

Indeed, at Camp Douglas Prison near Chicago, the word *timepiece* ceased to refer to a watch or a clock but instead came to mean a "ball and chain . . . consisting of a cannon ball weighing 32 pounds or more, with four or five feet of chain attached and a clasp to go about the ankle." Prisoners "called the contraption their 'time pieces' " because institutional time as articulated through the prison authorities determined when the men would be unshackled.[12]

Not all prisoners, however, lost their senses of personal time. Prisoners who owned time in the antebellum era—men whose watches ordered their day or the time of their workers—were less likely to surrender temporal ownership. Even in the absence of mechanical timepieces, such men carved out swathes of personal time by reverting to premodern methods of reckoning time. Natural time retained its value—the prison could not control the setting and rising of the sun. Thus, the first act of Confederate prisoners entering New York's Elmira Prison "was to erect a sun-dial in the center of the ground just off the main street, to tell the time of day."[13] Individual time based on the clock lost its authority among Civil War prisoners largely because they lost control over it. These prisoners used solar time to regain a sense of temporal authority and to schedule their time in a context designed to deny them temporal independence.

Simultaneously, however, prisoners were forced to function within the parameters of institutional time, in which punctuality was enforced by punishment: all time belonged to the prison as articulated through clock-regulated horns, bells, or watchmen's calls. Libby Prison's clock ordered life at the institution. Commandant Richard Turner posted regulations mandating that roll "commence[d] at seven o'clock A.M.," that prison gates "closed at six P.M.," and that "all lights, except hospitals [be] extinguished at nine o'clock P.M." At Richmond's Castle Morgan Prison, "roll calls were held daily at 7:30 A.M., and 5 P.M." The schedule at Andersonville Prison in Georgia roughly adhered to that of Libby, whereas Virginia's Danville Prison extended the advised hour for roll call to 9:00 A.M.[14]

Camp Douglas scene from *Our Young Jack,* April 1865. Within Civil War prisons, timepieces lost their authority to such an extent that they ceased to refer to clocks and watches. Instead timepieces referred to a ball and chain clamped around a prisoner's ankle with release contingent on institutional time, namely the prison authorities. *(Courtesy of Illinois State Historical Library, Old State Capitol, Springfield, Ill. 62706)*

At 9:00 A.M., Confederate prison officials served breakfast to Union officers at Libby Prison. Lunch was served at 1:00 P.M. and consisted of "boiled or roast beef, with five ounces of bread; at six o'clock supper,—five ounces of bread." Privates were furnished with breakfast at 10:00: "a small piece of cold beef (or some rice in lieu of it), and five ounces of bread." A second meal came "at seven P.M., about a half pint of soup and five ounces of bread." At Richmond's Belle Island Prison, Yankee captives were issued bread at 10:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M., while Confederates imprisoned at Fort Delaware received "at eight o'clock every morning, one small piece of mixed corn and wheat bread, and about an ounce of salt. . . . The same quantity was issued at two o'clock, with the addition of a pint of filthy soup." At 8:00 A.M. every other day, prisoners at Camp Morton, Indiana, were "supplied with one loaf of bread and one small piece of beef, and nothing more" until late in the evening the following day.[15]

At Fort Delaware, prisoners had "[r]oll call at reveille and retreat. . . . Police call at 7 A.M. and 4 P.M. . . . Breakfast call at 8 A.M.; dinner, 2 P.M.," and all violators were punished. At Camp Douglas, the clock mandated that the bugler summon the prisoners "twice each day at 6:30 [A.M.] and at 6 P.M." At 7:00 A.M., prisoners arrived for roll call. Officials served breakfast consisting of "one-third of a loaf and a little pittance of meat" to some inmates at 7:30 and to others at 8:00. Sick call took place an hour later. Inmates received lunch, which "consisted of [another] third of a loaf [of bread] and beef water or soup," at 1:00 P.M. Another roll call commenced at 3:00. Guard duty began at 9:00 A.M., with guards serving two hours on and four hours off.[16]

At Castle Morgan, as at most prisons, lights went out precisely at 9:00 P.M. At that hour, Union soldier Jesse Hawes returned to his "bed of sand," where he "dreamed of food till one or two A.M.," when he awoke, went to the water barrel for a drink, and returned "to sleep again, if the rats would permit sleep." Silence, interrupted only by the Confederate guards' half-hourly call, ruled until the "arrival of milk and daily papers about five o'clock in the morning." The same punctuated silence held true at North Carolina's Salisbury Prison and at Andersonville, where starting from the south gate, guards called "the hour of the night and the number of their post, thus 'P-o-o-st number one, ten o'clock and a-a-all's right. P-o-o-st

number two, ten o'clock and a-all's right,' all around the pen every hour from dark till daylight. . . . Sometimes they would interpolate a fragment thus: 'Post number eight, Lee's falling back, and all's well. Or Post number thirteen, twelve o'clock and here's your mule.' "[17]

Clock time ordered prison life twenty-four hours a day. In addition to dictating the basic structure of prisoners' days, clock time provided the contours of leisure time. Before the war, Americans had believed in wisely using time free from clock-regulated tasks. Civil War prisons, however, helped some prisoners to inculcate the same habits that antebellum prisons had dedicated themselves to reforming.[18]

Prison time hung heavily largely because it robbed a man of liberty, took "away the pleasure of company freely chosen; [drove] him into the direst poverty, so that his appearance repels him and he curses his eyes because they show him how he and his fellows look in a beggar's world; put time in chains to protract his day into a week and his week into a year; let his body hunger and his spirit—thirst—and you commit him to a hell worse than any theologian could imagine." This "hell" of forced idleness caused prisoners to contrive ways to pass the time and "quicken the sluggish hours." Prisoners at Andersonville initially occupied themselves by holding "interesting chats. But . . . soon wore out all the interesting incidents of [their] lives, exhausted [their] supply of anecdotes and stories; and were left with nothing to talk of, except to describe different dishes of food that [they] wanted, or to curse the rebels for their treatment, and to grumble at [the Union] Government for not exchanging [them]. These were standard themes; they could be repeated, in the same words, every day in the month."[19] Similar gripes echoed in the halls of Libby Prison, where prisoners also attempted to fill their "empty time" by "sleeping, by pacing back and forth, and by conversing. Many also indulged in shenanigans and monkeyshines, rightfully to be expected only from school boys." At the Union's Fort Delaware, the Reverend Isaac Handy found it "amusing to notice what small matters will interest the most sensible men, when shut up in prison. We had an illustration of this to-day. One of our most intelligent young men took considerable time and pains to make a 'limber-jack,' and suspending it by a string amused himself, for a long time, in using it to dance; and another was sufficiently interested to make a dress for the thing, much to the satisfaction of himself

and others." Such infantilization was common as men "being no longer able to amuse themselves as men, . . . remembered how they used to amuse themselves when they were children." To that end, Baron Trenck of Elmira Prison "brought his soul to a mouse, another eminent prisoner to a spider, and another watched daily the growing of a blade of grass that came out between the bricks and mortar of his cell." Whittling; smoking; gambling; wrestling; romping; fighting; and playing cards, chess, backgammon, jackstraws, baseball, and a variety of other adolescent games helped to pass the time and represented a departure from antebellum practices of time thrift and industry.[20]

Yet so embedded were the tenets of time discipline that institutional time failed to completely purge prisoners of their antebellum temporalities. Although guards and inmates routinely stole, confiscated, or sold watches and timepieces, some prisoners retained their dedication to punctuality, time thrift, and industry. Some prisoners employed their clock-defined leisure time in useful endeavors. As in the antebellum era, Union Sergeant A. P. Schurtz used the clock to order his day. During his incarceration, he reserved the hours from noon to 4:00 for his "war of extermination" against the vermin and lice that infested the prison. Others engaged in more cerebral pursuits. Following protracted periods of ennui, John Copley "resolved to devote the most of [his] time over such books as [he] might obtain." Inmates at Salisbury Prison in North Carolina spent their time poring over "a bound volume of *Harper's Magazine,* and as there were but eight in each mess, each could read an hour or more daily." At the Confederacy's Danville Prison, prisoners started historical debates, and "General Hayes, Major Putnam, and two or three others took lessons in Spanish, from a native of Mexico." Inmates at Maryland's Point Lookout Prison established a school that taught "English Grammar, Natural Philosophy, Modern and Ancient Geography, and History, Geometry, Book-keeping" and math. So well attended were these classes that prisoners divided "into three sections, each containing fifty or sixty pupils," with the exception of the arithmetic class, which was divided into groups of seven.[21]

Libby's prisoners established formal classes in Latin, French, Spanish, German, English grammar, spelling, fencing, and military tactics. Major Charles Mattock of the Seventeenth Maine "commenced to keep a Diary

in German, a task which affords instruction as well as good amusements and serves" to productively pass "the hours of confinement." Others joined societies that debated such issues as whether "gambling [was] a greater vice than intemperance." Still other inmates began memoirs. Prisoners at Libby also put out a newspaper, the *Libby Chronicle,* which invited "discussion on a wide range of subjects." Pieces for publication had to be submitted to "the editor Thursday evening at the latest" as the paper was distributed "promptly at ten o'clock every Friday morning." The paper advertised useful ways to fill time. The Libby Lyce-I-See-'em Association held its meetings every Tuesday at 10:00. During the week of August 28, 1863, the topic was whether "men ought not to have their faces shaved." For prisoners who preferred to listen to rather than engage in debates, weekly lectures were organized on topics ranging from "Paul and Silas in the Phillippian Prison" to army tactics. The inmates of Ohio's Johnson's Island prison formed theater groups and put on plays, including "Battle of Gettysburg," written by inmate A. J. Peller of Florida.[22]

Other prisoners employed their time making goods to be sold to guards or traded with other prisoners as part of an internal prison economy that often took the form of an extensive black market. Items made included "bone rings, tooth picks, chains, et&." At Libby, prisoners advertised such trading and organized bone fairs that encouraged all "who desire[d] to exhibit their worked bones" to gather and engage in trade.[23] This trade however, was contingent on the ticks of the clock and the rhythms of nature. The clock, often articulated through guards' oral calls, signaled the opening and closing of the internal economy, while the cycles of nature altered the hours of business in accordance with the seasons.

Although officials scheduled meals and other activities, the ebb and flow of prison life often disrupted the desired order and punctuality. Because authorities were unable to consistently regulate their staff and because battle time often impinged on and altered the clock-regulated nature of prison life, mealtimes at Fort Delaware, Andersonville, Macon, Charleston, Camp Morton, and other prisons could be erratic because the clock failed to retain its authority in the face of battle time. At Fort Delaware, Handy griped that the prison scheduled "irregular and unseasonable hours for meals." Indeed, officials "commonly distributed [meals] at hours so irregular and with such

improper intervals" that prisoners inscribed such complaints on the walls. Breakfast was set "for seven A.M. if there was any or from 9 to 10." Dinner generally was served at between 2:30 and 3:30 P.M. but "sometimes [was] not [served] at all." Supper was served during "early candle light, Providence permitting."[24]

Handy's main objection, however, centered on the prison's attempt to interfere with God's time, at least on one occasion. Prison officials knew "well the hour for service, and could easily defer . . . for half an hour or more . . . [t]he call for dinner," which occurred at the "irregular and improper" time of 11:30 A.M. Handy, who was preaching, immediately stopped his sermon "and remarked to the company that they could withdraw for dinner, or [he] would go on, as they prefer[ed]. Not an individual left his seat, and [he] continued [his] discourse."[25] In this instance, institutional time clearly failed to subordinate God's time. Handy and others objected not to the clock but to its mismanagement by prison officials.

Captain Henry Dickinson of the Second Virginia Cavalry lodged a similar complaint from the Union's Morris Island Prison on November 10, 1864. Confederate prisoners "had an extra roll call at 9 o'clock. . . . Four roll calls per day in a fort where, if we were spiders, we could hardly crawl out." A day later, the "Yanks changed the time and number of roll calls again [to] three now, at daylight, 12 o'clock noon, and sunset." On September 28, 1861, inmates at New York's Fort Lafayette Prison complained that the "garrison clock from some cause or other was kept three-quarters of an hour too fast," thus forcing lights-out before the rightful hour. Libby Prison, however, seemed immune to such temporal irregularities. Reflecting back on his incarceration, Union prisoner Homer B. Sprague declared that warden Dick Turner "seemed an excellent disciplinarian. Everything went like clockwork. We knew what to expect or rather what not to expect, *and* when."[26]

Prisoners also knew what to expect if they violated the clock's authority. At Fort Delaware Prison, "Private lights were allowed for reading until 9:00 P.M. bugle call. . . . If [lights were] not extinguished at once, the men were reprimanded." Such was the case on November 22, 1863. When prisoners were "a little tardy in extinguishing their lights, the sentinel came in, and ordered them to be put out immediately. Rough words passed, of course."

Silence and slumber were to follow 9:00 P.M. taps at Libby Prison, but on at least one occasion the inmates ignored the clock-regulated hours of sleep and "screeched and howled like Indians. They shrieked hilarious songs in shrill, cacophonous voices; they pounded the floors with everything they could lay hands on; they raged like lunatics. From top to bottom, the building reverberated. . . . Turner, the commandant, sent a lieutenant up with the order to *stop this tumult at once or every man jack will march to the street and stand there a few hours.*" The threat succeeded, and silence ruled for the remainder of the night. Other aural violations at Libby Prison elicited more severe punishments. Running "water after 9 P.M." was "punishable by a week's incarceration in the dungeon on bread and water." At Fort Douglas, Confederate prisoners who dawdled, spoke, or whispered "to each other under any circumstances" after 6:00 P.M., when all prisoners were ordered to retire, "would be marched out to Morgan's Mule, forced to mount and ride for two hours to half a night, barefooted, and with no covering on them save their thin and ragged clothing." The penalty for violating the temporal authority of the clock in the Union's Camp Chase, Ohio, prison was even more severe. On December 19, 1863,

> Pvt. F. Allen, a sentinel ordered the prisoners in mess No. 10 prison 1, to extinguish their lights between the hours of 10 P.M. and midnight. After repeated calls, which were clearly heard by other sentries, he fired his rifle into the building wounding a prisoner in the arm. . . . On the night of November 16, 1863 the lights in mess 49 were still lit at about 11 P.M. Pvt. John White, a sentinel, called loudly several times to extinguish the light and was not heeded. . . . [H]e fired into the building killing one prisoner instantly. . . . The lights [were] then put out in time.[27]

While prison officials punished those who violated the clock's authority, breaking the Sabbath went basically unchecked in Civil War prisons. In the absence of the legal and religious mechanisms of the antebellum era, some inmates came to perceive God's time as increasingly secular. The Sabbath often was not "hallowed" but instead was marked by idle amusements and leisures. At Libby Prison, some inmates seemed to have "no regard for the Sabbath," playing cards and engaging in sports as if the Sabbath was "the same as a week day." At Fort Delaware, Handy observed the conflicted state

of his fellow inmates. Some cast aside the "usual cards and dice, . . . but there is a constant hankering after the week-day amusements; the time is long, and at length, when night approaches, and the weary, irksome hours are nearly passed, what a relief in the prospect of another day, or of six more days at 'bluff,' 'whist,' or 'all fours.' " Although these prisoners did not actively break the Sabbath, they certainly did so in thought. In prison, the Sabbath could become the longest day of the week, and God's time could become a burden to survive rather than a day to pay homage and respect through worship. Other members of Handy's prison community,

> less conscientious, or with less firmness of character, [couldn't] hold out the full twelve hours, and the Sabbath [became] as any other day. . . . In passing, [Handy] discovered four persons absorbed quite earnestly in their play as during the week, excusing themselves, no doubt, like Chesterfield, who, in his old age, sought "to *kill* time [even God's time] the best way he could." Another very objectionable method of getting rid of the monotony of the Sabbath resorted to by several [inmates was] in *novel* reading. Sometimes the whole day [was] thus occupied. Nothing else [would] interest. Even the religious newspapers [were] *eschewed,* sometimes under the plea (with too much truth) of their being filled with politics and abuse of the South; but more especially on account of the heart-searching character of some articles by more moderate and godly men. Frequently, the day [was] spent in loud and boisterous conversation, in relating anecdotes, in stories of battles.[28]

Griffin Frost observed a similar scene among Union soldiers at Libby Prison:

> [The] Sabbath day has been passed off by some in reading and sleeping, by others in playing checkers, or sitting at the windows looking at the citizens passing and repassing. At the time of this writing, the occupants of No. 1 are busily engaged in singing hymns. Those of No. 2 are discussing different subjects, while a member not interested in the talk, is quietly picking his banjo. In No. 3, we are mostly writing to friends, which is our chief enjoyment. In No. 4, they have gone to bed but with a very poor prospect of sleep, both bugs and mosquitoes are combining to make that impossible.[29]

This secularization and desecration of the Sabbath, Handy explained, occurred partially because prisoners

> had been cut off from the moral and religious influences of home, churches, and religious societies, and have lived the rough life of a soldier for three long years. . . . When the Sabbath appeared, in our imaginations we would picture some lone and solitary church house, which, as if by a miracle, had escaped the firebrands and destruction of the invading army and in that picture see gathered together the dear old ladies, whose true piety, in those soul-stirring times, enabled them to bear with such wonderful fortitude the great calamity which enveloped all that was near and dear to them. . . . These pleasant thoughts with us somewhat atoned for the lack of the presence of those good people and the practice of religion with them.

Thoughts, however, did not always translate into action, as the nostalgia of the past gave way to the grim and graphic realities of prison life—filth and vermin, starvation, dysentery, insanity, and indolence. For many inmates, "it [was] hard to keep the Sabbath . . . [a]mid the noise and bustle of a hundred men."[30]

Other inmates maintained the integrity of God's time. The Sabbath, wrote Robert H. Kellogg of the Eighth Connecticut Volunteer Regiment, "was the hallowed day of the seven . . . a time when the mind of the soldier naturally reverts to other scenes and other days . . . where no sights nor sounds give evidence of war." It was to be kept holy and prisoners were to remember "the Sabbath day. . . . Six days thou labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day in the Sabbath of the Lord, thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work . . . wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." Through the eyes and ears of Confederate soldier Joe Barbière, Camp Chase, Ohio, seemed to follow such advice, because on "the Sabbath . . . the thousand officers retire to their rooms, or promenade, no cards or ball-playing, no rioting nor shouting, but regular and full attendance at the morning and evening services, and a universal reign of quiet and decorum."[31]

Some inmates at New Orleans's Parish Prison and Fort Delaware respected God's time by attending organized worship scheduled by the clock. Prayer meetings for November 23, 1861, at Parish Prison, for example, were to "be held in Cell No. 4, 2d floor . . . at 9 o'clock" A.M., with Bible class commencing at "1 P.M., in Cell No. 8, 2nd floor." Fort Delaware hosted multiple Sabbath services, with morning service usually held at 10:00 A.M., a general prayer meeting at 1:00, Bible class at 5:00, and evening service at

8:00.[32] In addition to regulating the week and ordering the day, then, the clock organized and ordered the formal observance of God's time.

While mechanical time, God's time, and natural times ordered prison life, leisure, and religion, they did so under the umbrella of battle time. Battle time dictated the arrival and departure of prisoners, much as the calendar had in the antebellum era. The authority of the clock became contingent on the absence of battle. When the cannons were silent, the clock ordered prison life; when the cannons boomed, the clock lost its authority inside of Civil War prisons.

Each battle flooded prisons with new arrivals. Following "the bloody and ferocious battle of Shiloh in early April, 1862," new prisoners swarmed into Camp Douglas. In April 1864, William Tecumseh "Sherman's Atlanta Campaign and another raid by General [John Hunt] Morgan sent almost 2,000 prisoners to Camp Douglas." The following month, after "the battles of Spotsylvania and of the Wilderness, over two thousand prisoners" entered Andersonville "at one time." So many men inhabited Andersonville that by the end of May, the prison contained more "able-bodied young men than there are in any of [the Union's] leading Cities, save New York and Philadelphia. It is more than the average population of an Ohio County." The prisoners' ranks swelled to near twenty thousand as all during July, the prisoners came

> streaming in by hundreds and thousands from every portion of the long line of battle, stretching from the eastern bank of the Mississippi to the shores of the Atlantic. Over one thousand squandered by [Brigadier General Samuel Davis] Sturges at Guntown came in; two thousand of those captured in the desperate blow dealt by [Lieutenant General John Bell] Hood against the Army of Tennessee on the 22d of the month before Atlanta; hundreds from [General David] Hunter's luckless column in the Shenandoah Valley; thousands from [Lieutenant General Ulysses S.] Grant's lines in front of Petersburg; in all, seven thousand one hundred and twenty eight were, during the month, turned loose into that seething mass of corrupting humanity known as Andersonville.[33]

The arrival of new prisoners occurred at "all hours of the night and day."[34] Larger influxes of prisoners provided for greater temporal dislocation, but

even the arrival of small groups forced prison officials to abandon the clock and appeal to the task system as a means of efficiently processing and situating the new arrivals.

Battle time also ordered prisoners' release. For the first year of the war, prisoner exchanges proceeded at a dizzying pace, largely because no official trade mechanism existed. The Union hesitated to engage the Confederacy in an exchange cartel because President Abraham Lincoln feared that such action would suggest to European powers that "the war was no longer an insurrection but a revolution, which had resulted in the *de facto* establishment of a new nation," thus spurring European intervention.[35] Until Britain's May 13, 1861, recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent power, the Union frequently paroled prisoners, a consequence of the widespread perception that the war would be short.

Following the Confederate capture of Fort Sumter at the beginning of the conflict, Robert Anderson and his men were released and permitted to board steamers bound for the North. On April 21, 1861, "Colonel Carlos A. Waite surrender[ed] his U.S. troops to Confederate forces" stationed at San Antonio, Texas. His men "were paroled on their promise not to leave Bexar County," Texas. Less than three weeks later, "an entire brigade of the Missouri state militia was forced to surrender to Captain Nathaniel Lyon who was in charge of the U.S. forces" in St. Louis. Lyon had the men "take an oath not to bear arms" against the Union and then "paroled 669 Rebels."[36] In these cases and scores of others, paroled soldiers ignored their oaths and returned to their regiments and the battlefield.

With European intervention on the back burner and war intensifying, the Union and Confederacy entered into an exchange cartel on July 22, 1862. Prisoners of equal rank were exchanged one for one or for a certain number of lower-ranked men. For example, a lieutenant could be exchanged for another lieutenant or for four privates. For the following ten months, prisons emptied as "thousands of paroled officers and men . . . became game pieces in a giant chess game" played out on the country's battlefields.[37]

When the tide of war turned against the Confederacy in 1863 and the Union began enlisting black soldiers, prisoner exchanges slowed. The Confederacy's threat to execute or reenslave captured black soldiers, its refusal to exchange "prisoners who[se] terms of service [had] expired during their captivity," and the inauguration of new military campaigns all but extinguished

hopes of exchange. Events in Vicksburg snuffed out the remaining flicker of optimism. U.S. General "Grant paroled and turned loose twelve thousand Confederates at Vicksburg. They were immediately armed and sent to Lee's army. When an exchange of prisoners was to be made [the Union] government wanted twelve thousand to off-set the men that Grant paroled; this the Rebels refused to grant," largely because they were losing the war.[38]

Prisoners were aware that their release was contingent on battle time, as Bernhard Domschcke expressed: "Through August and September we awaited fulfillment of our wish. In vain. Then we explained away its postponement: Our government did not want to exchange before the autumn campaign ended. For a return to the enemy a large number of well-cared-for prisoners would strengthen him with troops, fit for service [against ours]. We thus rested assured that, come winter, we'd get out of this trap." Grant also recognized battle time's influence on Civil War prisoners' releases. Realizing that events at Vicksburg had become the norm, Grant ended exchanges by arguing that "every [Confederate] released on parole becomes an active soldier against us at once. . . . At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners in the North would ensure Sherman's defeat."[39] Such logic was not lost on prisoners. S. S. Boggs of the Twenty-first Illinois Infantry realized the potential danger that prisoner exchanges posed to the Union war effort. If Rebel exchange demands had been met,

> Sherman would not have marched through Georgia nor Grant have taken Richmond for at least one or two years more. For this reason: Out of the ninety-four thousand held by the Rebels, the Union army would not have got over twenty-thousand fighting men, while on the other hand the North held two hundred and twenty-seven thousand of the best material of the Southern army, which nearly all to a man regardless of their paroles, would have been put against Grant and Sherman, and to have met and dislodged these old confederate soldiers from their position of defense, our government would have been compelled to call out at least four hundred thousand fresh troops.

Paroles only extended and prolonged the war. Having made winning the war the first priority, the Union ended exchanges in hopes of shortening the fighting by keeping "a hundred thousand men of the best fighting material on both sides out of the arena of war."[40]

By 1864, the Confederacy was fighting a two-front war on its own soil. As Grant's troops moved south and Sherman's troops moved north, Union prisoners were either moved further South or released. Either action disrupted what was supposed to be the regular and clock-driven order of Civil War prisons. Grant's movement toward Richmond disrupted the routines of Union prisoners in Richmond. On February 17, 1864, the "Rebel government directed Belle Island to be cleared," shipping prisoners to Camp Sumter in Georgia for safekeeping. By May 21, rumors of Grant's impending arrival in Richmond and Lee's defeat swirled around Libby Prison. Four days later, prisoners learned that "Grant had defeat[ed] Lee, and was within eight miles of Richmond." As Grant approached, Confederate officials ordered prisoners to "fall in" and marched them through the city's streets to Castle Thunder, where several hundred other prisoners joined them. The Confederates then shipped these men to Camp Oglethorpe in Macon, Georgia.[41]

On July 27, battle time resulted in the movement of six hundred officers from Camp Oglethorpe to Charleston, "and two days later, six hundred others were transported to Savannah." Following the fall of Atlanta on September 3, 1864, and battle time's encroachment, prisoners "were hurried out of Andersonville under the false pretext of exchange," largely because Sherman's troops were "within sixty miles of Macon, and any day . . . were liable to make a forward movement, which would capture that place." These prisoners joined those who had previously been taken to Savannah and Charleston, but by September 12, Sherman's forces threatened Savannah. Confederate officials ordered prisoners "to prepare two days' rations and be ready for departure at day break." The clock-regulated routine was discarded as camp was in a "state of bustle attendant upon an order to move. . . . [A]s a clock in a neighboring church spire struck twelve [the prisoners] marched out of the gate and through the principal streets [of Savannah] to the depot," where they boarded a train bound for Charleston. In November 1864, discussion of exchanging the remaining Union prisoners at Andersonville failed because "Sherman's march . . . prevented the Confederacy from delivering the prisoners to Savannah for the purposes of exchange."[42]

As Sherman moved north, he disrupted Confederate time- and soundscapes. Union prisoners had been concentrated in Charleston, South Car-

olina, for two reasons. First, it was believed to be a strong and secure location. Second, Confederate leaders sought to preserve Charleston by placing vast numbers of Union soldiers there in the hope that the Union forces would not fire for fear of hitting their own men. Neither assumption proved correct: Union General John G. Foster continually bombarded the city, causing J. Madison Drake of the Ninth New Jersey "a very wakeful time . . . until I became accustomed to the din," a statement that demonstrates the disruption of normal sleep patterns. Sherman's march in combination with the bombardment instilled fear in "Confederate councils, and desperate efforts were made to avert the threatened doom. Among other precautions taken was the hustling of several hundred captive Union officers into a train of cars at Charleston to Columbia," South Carolina. H. A. Johnson's clock-regulated prison routine was disrupted on October 5, 1864, when, "[w]ithout an hour's notice," the prisoners were transported from Charleston to Columbia. Sherman threatened Columbia in December 1864, and battle time once again disrupted the routines of prison life. On December 12, prisoners at Columbia "received orders from the rebel officer in command to 'pack up' for a move." Officials "claimed it was for humanity's sake, but as this was a rare virtue, [the prisoners] at once concluded that General Sherman was on his way to Columbia." On February 14, 1865, prisoners at Columbia's Asylum Prison had "the monotony of that miserable existence . . . broken" when they "heard in the distance the booming of artillery" and knew that "Sherman was approaching." Their captors knew the same thing and moved the men to Charlotte, North Carolina. Soon thereafter, Sherman's troops threatened Florence, South Carolina, causing the "Rebels [to send] all prisoners who could walk or stand on their feet to Goldsboro, North Carolina."[43]

In the war's waning days, a desperate Confederate government sought to exchange prisoners "on almost any terms" to regain men and continue the fight.[44] Such attempts held no allure for the Federals, who had begun liberating men from Confederate prisons. The Confederacy's surrender at Appomattox freed all remaining prisoners.

Union and Confederate officials attempted to co-opt the clock's authority to organize their prisons. While clock time scheduled work, leisure, meals, sleep, and, to a certain extent, religious services, it lost its hegemony in

the face of battle time. As in other areas of the conflict, battle time usurped prison times, acting independently of male, mechanical, and religious times. With the Union victory, however, battle time's authority dissipated. Civil War prisons returned their inmates to a postbellum society undergirded by antebellum temporalities, and American society returned to its task of creating an orderly, industrious, disciplined, and modern society based on labor and the clock.

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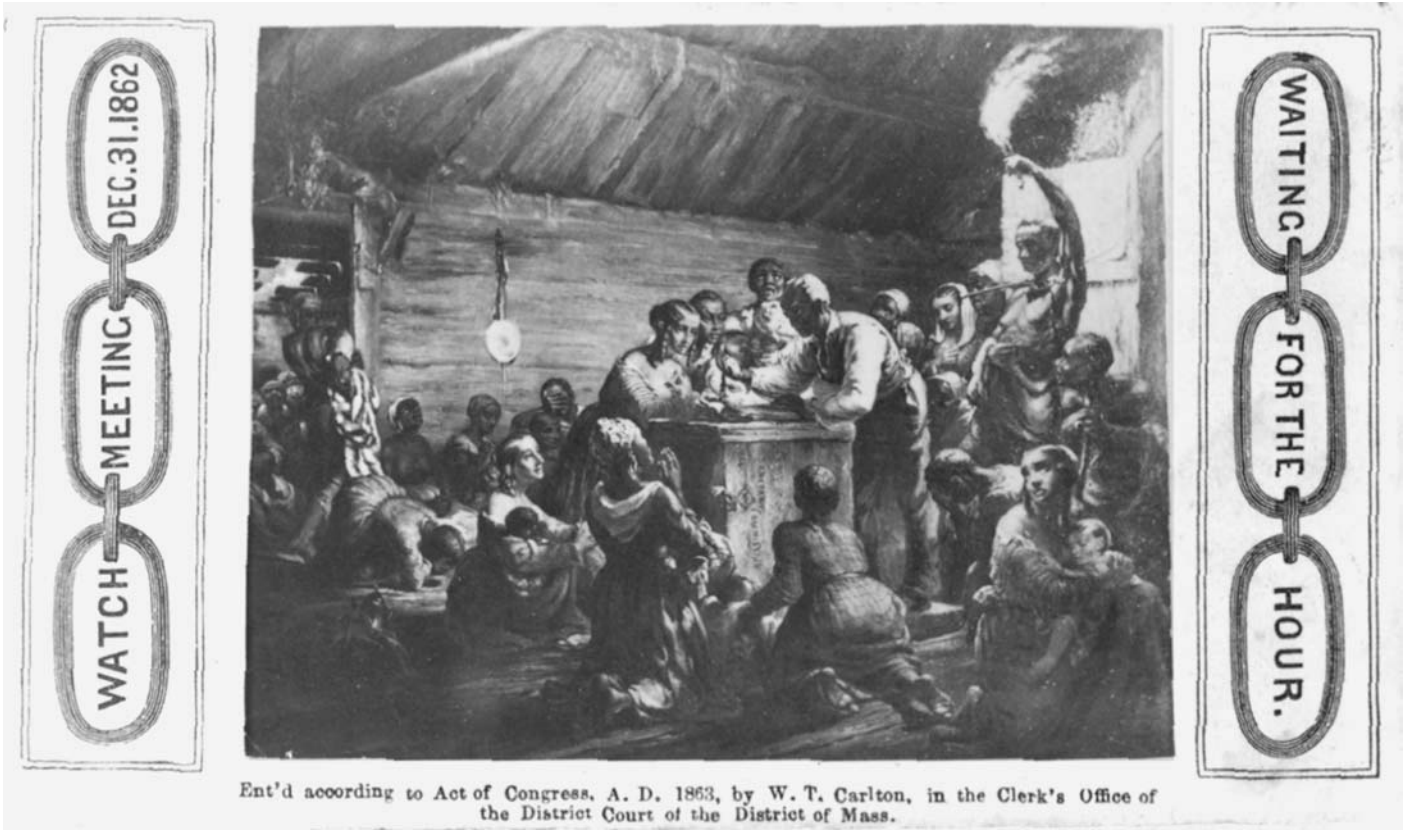
EPILOGUE

Antebellum Temporalities in the Postbellum Period

At "half past one on Sunday, the 9th of April 1865," General Ulysses S. Grant arrived at Wilmer McLean's Appomattox Court House home to accept Confederate General Robert E. Lee's surrender.[1] The flourish of a quill destroyed the Confederate nation, settled the issue of secession, and terminated battle time. With the silencing of the cannon, battle time lost its authority to order and reorder life. Its ability to disrupt patterns of sleep, extend hours of work, conflate the hours of leisure, control the length of imprisonment, degender hospitals, and desecrate the Sabbath evaporated with the war's conclusion. Soldiers, nurses, civilians, and prisoners returned to a society governed by multiple and interpenetrating times based largely on the clock. These plural times however, were not new: continuity remained in the way Americans viewed, valued, and applied time largely because the same complex and overlapping temporalities that undergirded the processes of antebellum American society did so in the postbellum era.[2]

As they had before the war, Americans turned to the clock to order postwar life. Perhaps the clock's first important job immediately after the conflict was to mark the time of emancipation and the death of slavery. Some slaves associated freedom with a particular stroke of the clock. Steven Jones in Texas recalled that freedom came at "about 8 o'clock in the morning" by the plantation clock. Interviewed in 1937, former North Carolina slave Mary Anderson recalled that her master and mistress gathered all their slaves together and told them that they were free at 9:00 A.M. Waters McIntosh and the other slaves on a Carterville, South Carolina, plantation heard the time of freedom: "the conk sounded at eleven o'clock, and they knew that the long time had come. They dropped their hoes and went to the big house," and their master announced that they were free.[3]



Watch meeting, December 31, 1862. Slaves acknowledged the legitimacy of the clock and used that antebellum knowledge to time events, including their emancipation. *(Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)*

Ironically, clock time, the emancipator of the slaves, also tolled the death of the Great Emancipator. The clock timed Abraham Lincoln's death and scheduled his funeral procession. The April 16, 1865, edition of the *New York Herald* reported that at "Eleven o" Lincoln's pulse was forty-four and that at

Five minutes past eleven—Pulse 45 and growing weaker
Ten minutes past eleven—Pulse 45
Twenty minutes past eleven—Pulse 45—respiration 27 to 29
Twenty-five minutes past eleven—Pulse 45
Thirty-two minutes past eleven—Pulse 45
Forty minutes past eleven—Pulse 45
Quarter to twelve—Pulse 45, respiration 21,
Ecchymosis both eyes.
Half-past twelve—Pulse 45
Thirty-two minutes past twelve—Pulse 60
Thirty-five minutes past twelve—Pulse 66
Forty minutes past twelve—Pulse 69, right eye much swollen and ecchymosis.
Forty-five minutes past twelve—Pulse 80, struggling motion of arms.
One o'clock—Pulse 86, respiration 30.
Half past one—Pulse 95, appearing easier
Forty five minutes past one—Pulse 86, so very quiet; respiration irregular Mrs. Lincoln present.
Ten minutes past two—Mrs. Lincoln retired with Robert Lincoln to an adjoining room.
Half-past two—President very quiet, pulse 54; respiration 28.
Fifty-two minutes past two—Pulse 48, respiration 30.
Three o—Visited again by Mrs. Lincoln.
Twenty-five minutes past three—Prayer by the Rev. Dr. Gurely.
Four o—Respiration hard regular
Quarter past four—Pulse 60; respiration 25.
Fifty minutes past five—Respiration 28; regular; sleeping
Six o—Pulse falling; respiration 28.
Half-past six—Still failing and labored breathing.
Seven o—Symptoms of immediate dissolution.
Twenty-two minutes past seven—Death.[4]

While the clock detailed the passing of President Lincoln, the American people turned to the same device to express their grief. Clocks were either stopped or interrupted as the nation mourned the president. Across the country, bells set to toll the time stopped and mournfully marked Lincoln's assassination.[5]

The clock also scheduled the funeral procession, allowing Americans to say good-bye to the president as he switched from their time into another. Accordingly, William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* reported that Lincoln's

> remains will leave Washington at 8 A.M. on Friday, the 21st and arrive at Baltimore at 10. Leave Baltimore at 3 P.M., and arrive at Harrisburg at 8.20 P.M. Leave Harrisburg at 12 M, 22d, and arrive at Philadelphia at 6.30 P.M. Leave Philadelphia at 4 A.M. of Monday the 24th, and arrive at New York at 10. Leave New York at 4 P.M. of the 25th, and arrive at Albany at 11 P.M. Leave Albany at 4 P.M. on Wednesday, the 26th, and arrive at Buffalo at 7 A.M. Thursday, the 27th. Leave Buffalo at 10.10 the same day, and arrive at Cleveland at 7 A.M. on Friday the 28th. Leave Cleveland at midnight same day, and arrive at Columbus at 7.30 P.M. of Saturday, 29th. Leave Columbus at 8 P.M. the same day and arrive at Indianapolis at 7 A.M. on Sunday, the 30th. Leave Indianapolis midnight of the same day, and arrive at Chicago at 11 A.M. of Monday, May 1. Leave Chicago at 9.30 P.M. of May 2, and arrive at Springfield at 8 A.M. of Wednesday, May 3.[6]

Folks in Buffalo, New York, filled the city's streets long before the train was due to arrive. "Punctually to the time," the funeral train arrived, and, following a progression to St. James Hall, the casket lid was opened "a little after ten." The public filed in to view the body. "At quarter past eight, the coffin was closed and . . . at a little after 10:00 the funeral cortege and escort took the train . . . and went their" sorrowful way.[7]

In the postbellum era, then, the nature and processes of American society remained, as they had been in the antebellum era, largely rooted in clock time. The clock determined school schedules, leisure activities, and transportation.[8] Not surprisingly, the clock also continued to define and order work. The silencing of battle freed participants from the temporal multiplicities of the war and from the hegemony of battle time. Americans returned to the fields, farms, factories, and gendered worlds of the domestic

sphere. The clock, nature, God, and humans continued to direct work of all shades.

The agricultural cycles of nature were unaffected by the Civil War. Planters and farmers completed their seasonal tasks at the same time of year as had always been the case. January continued to demand the planting of sugar on Louisiana cane plantations. April still signified the start of cotton planting, and although September was "not the busiest month of the year on the northern farms, there [was] still enough important work to be done to occupy [farmers'] whole time." Nature, argued the *Ohio Farmer,* indicated "the time to labor."[9] The rhythms of nature clearly provided a pattern and regularity, if not a predictability, to agricultural work.

Historian Lawrence N. Powell, among others, attributes the postwar clash between planters and former slaves over employment terms to differing temporalities. Influenced by Eugene Genovese, Powell argues that freedpeople were tied "to the natural rhythms of agriculture and reinforced by an African sense of time" that caused slaves to "spurn the idea of routinized work" and to consider "time as something that was passed, not consumed." However, the carpetbaggers brought with them a new temporal ideology. Unlike southerners, these northerners believed that "time was money"; using that belief, they attempted to bring "factories to the field," applying regularity and routine "to a branch of industry that by its very nature moved in fits and starts according to the cycles of the seasons and the fluctuation of the weather." Powell concludes that only the importation of such modern northern ideas could have forced people to labor and thereby salvaged the southern economy.[10] But clashes over time did not result from disagreements between a modern sense of time consciousness and a natural premodern one largely because the South, like the North, had already developed a complex yet modern capitalist sense of time in the antebellum era. Postbellum debates over time instead concerned who owned time as articulated through the clock.

In the antebellum era, masters owned all their slaves' time and, backed by the whip, imposed clock-regulated order and routine to the extent permitted by nature. Slaves, like all Americans, participated in a shared culture of time and functioned within multiple times increasingly based on the clock. Although freedom meant a shift from slaves' time being owned by others

to slaves owning their time, planters often wished to ignore African Americans' new status and retain pre-Emancipation working patterns. African Americans, however, objected and used the language of time, as northern industrial workers did, to negotiate regarding the terms of employment. Not surprisingly, former slaves, like industrial workers, co-opted antebellum temporal authorities to do so.

With few exceptions, the postbellum workweek included five full days plus a half day on Saturday, with Sunday reserved for rest. During the workweek, clock-regulated horns and bells continued to call labor to the fields and the factories within parameters set by nature. At Louisiana's Red River Plantation, an observer was hard pressed to distinguish slavery from freedom. The plantation bell signaled the beginning of the workday. Laborers went to the fields at 6:00 in the morning and "worked till sunset, an hour and a half being allowed for breakfast, and three-quarters of an hour for dinner." S. C. Shelton required every hand on his North Carolina farm to be at work at 7:00 A.M. At noon, the dinner bell rang: Shelton allowed "one hour for eating from 1st January to 1st of March, one hour and a half from the 1st of March to 15th of May, two hours from 15th May to 15th of August."[11] Planters attempted to reconstruct antebellum rhythms of labor by stripping freedpeople of their postbellum right to time. Planters sought to control, order, and ultimately own freedpeople's time as had been the case in the antebellum era.

Northern employers also recruited the clock to order the day. At New York's Navy Yard, quartermasters were required to call roll "at the time for commencing work in the morning," "at 1 o'clock P.M.," and at "bell-ring in the evening." Time books were to be delivered to the paymaster's office "by 9 o'clock each day." New York's Journeymen Barber's Union set the hours of labor for its members: "On the first five days of the week," barbers labored "from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M.; on Saturdays from 7 o'clock A.M. to 10 o'clock P.M., and on Sundays from 7 o'clock A.M. till 12 o'clock noon." The Washburn and Moen Wire Manufacturing Company in Worcester, Massachusetts, worked its laborers for 13 hours a day Monday through Friday, with a 9.25-hour day on Saturday. New England shoe industry laborers were not nearly as fortunate, laboring from 7:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. on Saturday.[12]

From Monday through Saturday—and in some cases on Sundays—the clock and nature ordered labor. For most postbellum workers, God directed

actions on Sunday. While northern émigrés to the South were familiar with this industrial pattern of work, many of those who moved south were unfamiliar with the rhythms of southern labor and were surprised to discover that "the Negro dont work on Saturday." In early 1866, recent émigré Amelia Montgomery grumbled, "we could not get any thing done [on Saturday;] if the whole Affrican [*sic*] race had to starve, they will not do any work on Saturday." But planter Isaac Shoemaker recognized that former slaves "have been used . . . to have Saturday to themselves." Other freedpeople argued that "it was 'in de contrac' no work on Saturday." Margaret, a former slave on the Hope on Hope Ever Plantation near Augusta, Georgia, "was ordered to wash out the sideboard; but she absolutely refused, as it was Sunday and she hadn't been hired to do work on Sunday." The plantation's mistress "was compelled to clean a portion of [the sideboard] herself."[13] Regardless of the attempts to force Saturday labor, former slaves, like industrial workers, clung tightly to their traditional and—following the implementation of labor contracts—legal rights to leisure.

While the patterns of work continued to be completed within parameters set by God, the clock, and nature, employers and workers co-opted the language of modernity to debate the nature of that work. In the North, the Civil War resulted in "universal employment" as industries mobilized and expanded the labor force to meet the increasing demands of the Union army. With the conclusion of the war, soldiers returned to civilian life, causing industrial workers to fear for their job security. Indeed, by the end of 1865, "millions [of workers] had been thrown out of employment into idleness, and left without any industrial means of subsistence." This development, coupled with a desire for more free time, led workers into conflicts with management and owners. Workers argued that shortening each individual's workweek would permit all persons currently employed to remain so as well as allow for some new hiring. Moreover, such a change would increase rather than decrease productivity, as employees would be able to work at a steadier pace for a shorter amount of time and thus produce more goods and maximize profits. Workers continued antebellum discussions regarding the length of the workday and increasingly argued for an eight-hour day.[14]

Postbellum workers joined labor unions and eight-hour leagues in record numbers. While some unions, including the National Labor Union, attempted to persuade the government to enact eight-hour legislation, others

took a more radical approach and took to the streets in protest. In 1869, for example, New York's Journeymen Job Printers, Sailors, and Bakers struck for shorter hours and higher wages.[15] This trend continued throughout Reconstruction, with strikes a frequent occurrence as owners and workers struggled over how much time each owned.

Debates over time and temporal ownership also played out in the postbellum South. Although not nearly as well organized as northern laborers, freedpeople used the same language of time to agitate for the same goals. Planters and observers, however, misinterpreted former slaves' reluctance to work as inherent indolence rather than a manifestation of freedom and a result of a modern sense of clock consciousness. Edward O'Brien of the Freedmen's Bureau complained that the freedmen of Christ Church Parish, South Carolina, were "idle, vicious vagrants, whose sole idea consists in loafing without working." When African Americans did work, South Carolina planter Keating Simons Ball complained that he could not "get Labor done" as it required "from two to three hands to do per diem what one hand used to do for a day's work in former years." On her Georgia plantation, Frances Leigh grumbled that "half the hands left the fields at one o'clock and the rest by three o'clock," before the day's work was complete. While touring the South following the war, Whitelaw Reid frequently heard planters say that freedmen "wouldn't do more'n half as much, now that the lash was no longer behind them."[16]

In response to planters' demands, most southern states replaced antebellum slave codes with postbellum black codes designed to control freedpeople's time and force labor, thereby stymieing African American ownership of working hours. Mississippi's 1865 code required all former slaves to have evidence of employment for 1866. The state also attempted to define freedpeople's time by threatening to co-opt that of their children. Mississippi's apprenticeship law, replicated in most southern states, required that "orphans or children of unemployed parents" be apprenticed until the age of eighteen or twenty-one. Harriet Norwood was apprenticed to William G. John of Hempstead County, Arkansas, until her eighteenth birthday. She was to "learn the art of housekeeping, cooking, washing, ironing, and sewing" and "at all times obey [John's] lawful commands." She was forbidden to "contract matrimony during the period for which

she" was apprenticed or to "absent herself from the service of said John." Lucy, identified only as a free girl of color from Robeson County, North Carolina, was apprenticed for nine years to P. J. Hawk. During that time, she was to serve, obey, keep all secrets, complete all "lawful commands," and be present for the "service of her master day and night."[17] Because freedom corresponded to temporal ownership, the state was in essence stealing not only time but also liberty, thereby reinstituting slavery.

Despite such laws, freedpeople continued to resist and in so doing cultivated a reputation for idleness. One Alabama freedman argued that this reputation derived from the fact that former slaves refused "to be driven out into the field two hours before day, and work until 9 or 10 o'clock in the night, as was the case in the days of slavery." Traveler and observer John Trowbridge likewise recognized that "slaves used to work at least sixteen hours a day in summer—probably more for they had chores to do at home after dark: That they should not choose to keep up such a continual strain on their bodily faculties now that they were free, did not appear to be . . . very unreasonable."[18] Like northern factory workers, freedpeople were not arguing about whether to work but using the language of clock time to control their time and the amount of it dedicated to labor.

Freed people were caught between their desire to labor on their own terms and their employers' demands on their time. The December 1865 edition of the *Colored American* offers perhaps the most trenchant description of this dilemma:

> First: That the free Negro will not work at all; but
> Second, that he will work so much better than the white laborer, that the latter will be injured by the pressure of Negro competition.
> Third, that the country will be ruined by the idleness of the free blacks but
> Fourth, that the negroes are so eager for work as to leave none for white workmen.

Such conflicting interpretations of freedpeople's work ethic complicated the already complex transition from slavery to freedom in the postbellum South. Armed with the ideology of inherent black laziness, some planters sought other workers to fill their labor needs, only to realize that doing so was an error. John Floyd King of Concordia, Louisiana, hired "Dutch, German,

Dain, and Swiss emigrants" to work his plantation but many of the Dutch and Germans "deserted; the latter seem more quiet and more honest—but they all eat at least one third to one half more than the Negro, and do not accomplish more than two thirds as much work." David Golightly Harris of Spartanburg, South Carolina, discovered that freedpeople were "more reliable as regards their working contracts than white men." Trowbridge was equally surprised to discover that freedpeople employed at a New Orleans, Louisiana, sugar mill worked "night and day" and moved "with the regularity of clockwork" to ensure that the work was completed.[19] Freedpeople worked but insisted on doing so on their own terms.

Some freedpeople were more than willing to "work as many hours as any employer ought to ask" as long as they were compensated accordingly. On James D. Waters and George Gillson Klapp's Good Hope plantation, the overseer objected to freedmen working longer than the time for which they were paid. Echoing advocates of the eight-hour workday, this particular overseer argued that "the time necessary for eating breakfast and going to the field was part of the normal work day." When Waters and Klapp disagreed, the overseer simply adjusted the time. He "deliberately blew the morning horn an hour late, and refused, point-blank, subsequent orders to sound it at the old time. He explained that 'he would not ask [the hands] to work over ten hours & they had been working eleven.' " Former slaves on a Mississippi cotton plantation protested their long hours in yet another way reminiscent of northern labor strife, going on strike until they were paid.[20] These men and women were not refusing to work but demanding appropriate compensation. After all, time was money.

Booker T. Washington also protested his working hours but adjusted time for educational betterment rather than economic incentives. Washington was to attend a school that began at 9:00 A.M., the same hour at which his factory job ended. Washington ensured his punctuality in an unorthodox way: the factory office had a "large clock" on which "all the hundred or more workmen depended . . . to regulate their hours of beginning and ending the day's work." Washington "got the idea that the way . . . to reach School on time was to move the clock hands from half-past eight up to the nine o'clock mark."[21] Certainly reminiscent of northern workers' resistance to owners'

time, Washington's approach illustrates that African Americans were clock conscious and used that knowledge to resist and define hours of work.

With resistance, however, often came punishments indistinguishable from those under slavery. In Georgia, Robert Peck was "shot in the left arm" by his employer's wife as punishment for using his time unwisely and disobeying orders. Brothers Andrew and Washington Harris perceived Saturday to be time free from labor, but their overseer, Tryce, did not, striking Andrew "over the head twice with a big hickory stick[, causing f]lesh wounds . . . of the skull," and cutting Washington "on the hands and across the hips." Wilson Carter failed to appear in the fields at the appointed hour and, as a deterrent, was "struck on the head with gun" by overseer John Allen. Andrew Price of Athens, Georgia, failed to bring "a cup of coffee immediately when asked" to do so; his employer then stabbed him.[22]

In some cases, the dollar replaced the whip as the enforcer of punctuality and productivity: "the wages of the tardy" could be docked. The freedpeople on the Clark Anderson and Company Plantation in Wilkes County, Georgia, recognized that the value of their labor was often contingent on the growing cycle. Consequently, they agreed to "deduct for time lost by [their] own fault one dollar per day during the Spring and two dollars during cotton picking season . . . and all time lost by protracted sickness." Henry Watkins and his family also acknowledged that they were to be paid only for the work they completed on W. A. Barner's Tennessee plantation: all "time lost by sullenness or absence without leave in sickness shall not be paid for." The same labor relations held true on Allen Harris's, W. E. Copeland's, and Jason S. Herrod's Dyer County, Tennessee, plantations. Harris's workers had to "account for all lost time" and have its monetary equivalent deducted from their pay. Copeland's freedman, Anthony Perry, consented to the deduction of wages for lost time. And Herrod's freedpeople agreed to be paid only "for the time" they worked and not for time "lost by sickness or otherwise."[23]

Having inculcated a stern sense of time's equation to money and adopted the industrial capitalist technique of docking wages, some planters devised sophisticated systems for doing so. Planter Thomas Ross's laborers contracted to "do good work and labor ten hours a day on an average, winter

and summer." The workday, however, did not include the time "going to and from work," and the employees agreed that "all lost time" was to be compensated "at the rate of one dollar per day, rainy days excepted." Benjamin F. Duncan of Tennessee made no allowances for natural time and charged his freedpeople "one dollar and 30/100 for each day" missed from work. Shelton developed a more defined system of labor and financial penalization, requiring every hand on his North Carolina farm to be at work at 7:00 A.M. A laborer who failed to appear on time was charged with "one fourth of a day; five minutes behind time loses him just as much as if he were to come at half past nine." Shelton demanded "of each hand 10 hours labor a day" and paid his workers only after the labor had been completed. If a hand on Shelton's farm "persistently fail[ed] to make time," he was simply paid off and discharged. Accordingly, this rule threw "all losses of time where it properly belong[ed], to those who los[t] it. Suppose I work, fifty hands and each of these hands loses twelve minutes during the day. You see I lose a whole day or the work of one hand," but using the clock and wages to induce punctuality and labor saved time and increased productivity.[24] Planters clearly had a modern sense of time's equation to money and utilized their knowledge and the threat of financial penalties to enforce punctuality.

Contrary to Powell's assertion, freedpeople did not perceive time as something that was passed and, by implication, forever lost. Former slaves often worked to make up lost time. Such was the case on Samuel Porcher Gaillard's South Carolina plantation, where Tommy "beat rice to make up one of the days he lost" in 1868. Charles Craddock Wimbish permitted family members to work off each other's lost time. In 1867, G. Custin "furnished his daughter Jenny" to Wimbish "to work three days in the crop" in exchange "for three days of the time that he had lost."[25] Former slaves' notions of gaining, losing, and redeeming time were well developed by the postbellum era, largely because their antebellum experiences prepared them to function in a world of multiple temporalities. Time was clearly perceived not only as linear but in some cases as cyclic and in most cases as valuable and redeemable.

Planters, farmers, industrialists, and former slaves did not enter a new temporal world after the Civil War. American society remained on its ante-

bellum course, dedicated to creating an orderly, industrious, and modern society based largely on multiple times and increasingly on the clock. The Civil War disrupted the rhythms and processes of antebellum society, but this disruption was only temporary. The conflict altered how Americans used, perceived, and recognized time, as battle time replaced the clock as the ultimate arbiter of time. With the conclusion of the war, however, battle time lost its authority, and Americans returned to a postbellum society regulated by antebellum temporal rhythms.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

BRFAL Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm)
DU Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
LV Library of Virginia, Richmond
O.R. *The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*
SCL South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia
SHC Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
VHS Virginia Historical Society, Richmond

Introduction: Civil War Time(s)

1. On the transformation of the South, see Beard and Beard, *Rise of American Civilization,* 2:52–121; Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction;* Wayne, *Reshaping,* 203; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins.*

2. For a discussion of the workings of multiple times, see Adam, *Timewatch,* 8; Adam, "Within and Beyond"; Urry, "Time, Leisure, and Social Identity," 147.

3. On capitalism and the emergence of clock time, see Brody, "Time and Work"; Gutman, *Work,* 3–79; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 38; Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time,* 1; Thompson, "Time," 210–36. For a critique of Thompson, see Clive Behagg, "Controlling the Product: Work, Time, and the Early Industrial Revolution in Britain, 1800–1850," in *Worktime,* ed. Cross, 41–58; Richard Whipp, " 'A Time to Every Purpose': An Essay on Time and Work," in *Historical Meanings of Work,* ed. Joyce, 210–36.

4. On the South and task orientation, see Genovese, *Roll,* 286–94; Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time,* 1. On the modernity of the North and premodernity of the South, see Grant, *North over South,* 36, 41; Mandel, *Labor,* 29; William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress.* For a summary, see Mark M. Smith,

Debating. On slavery's smothering of capitalism, see Edgerton, "Markets"; Genovese, *Political Economy,* 1–3, 19, 23; Genovese and Fox-Genovese, *Fruits,* 23; Eugene Genovese, "Slavery: The World's Burden," in *Perspectives,* ed. Owens, 27–50; Genovese, *World,* 33, 130–31; Luraghi, *Rise and Fall,* 146; Phillips, *American Negro Slavery,* 344–401. On preindustrial work rhythms, see Dohrn–van Rossum, *History,* 9.

5. For a discussion of the existence of capitalism in the absence of free wage labor, see Bowman, "Antebellum Planters," 783; Dew, *Ironmaker,* 111; Fogel and Engerman, *Time,* 202–9; Metzer, "Rational Management"; Barrington Moore Jr., *Social Origins,* 111–58; Wallerstein, "American Slavery."

6. Oakes, *Ruling Race,* 191.

7. Elkins, *Slavery,* 52–80.

8. Ralph V. Anderson and Gallman, "Slaves," 25, 32.

9. On yeomen and capitalism, see Ford, *Origins;* Hahn, *Roots.*

10. Kemble, *Journal,* 104.

11. Dew, *Ironmaker,* 26. On wage labor in southern industries, see also Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture,* 234, 239–40; Davis, "Robert Findlay," 27; Dew, *Bond,* 109, 319; Dew, *Ironmaker,* 91, 239, 129; Detreville, "Little New South," 250, 254–55; Gagnon, "Transition," 90–91; Goldin, *Urban Slavery,* 30; Richard W. Griffin, "Augusta Manufacturing Company," 62; Whittington B. Johnson, "Free Blacks," 14; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom,* 199–205; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 155, 161.

12. George White, *Statistics,* 446. On female wage labor in the antebellum southern industries, see Delfino and Gillespie, *Neither Lady nor Slave,* 249–307.

13. Wood and Wood, "Reuben King Journal," 50; see also 48, 68, 75, 80–91. On wage labor and Georgia, see Lockley, *Lines.* On wage labor and free African Americans, see Adams, "Prices and Wages," 635; Rosser Taylor, "Free Negro," 25.

14. On slaves earning wages, see Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains,* 128, 389, 421; John Brown, *Slave Life,* 36; Evans, *Conquest,* 24; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Antebellum North Carolina,* 479; Wade, *Slavery,* 42–47, 51. On wages paid to overseers, see Burke, *Pleasure,* 90; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Antebellum North Carolina,* 490; Sitterson, "Hired Labor," 192–200. On planters hiring wage labor, see Fechic, *Slave Life,* 12; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Antebellum North Carolina,* 488; Olmsted, *Journey,* 10, 155–56, 355; Working-Men's Association, *Resolution,* 5.

15. On the clock's use to schedule the industrial workday in the North, see "Conditions in Mill Towns," in *American People,* ed. Allmendinger, 96; Hareven, *Family Time,* 10; *Fall River Mechanic,* July 6, 1844; Moran, *Belles,* 17, 19; Stephens, *On Time,* 73–74; Wallace, *Rockdale,* 149, 179. On the clock's use to schedule the industrial workday in the South, see Evans, *Conquest,* 95; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,*

37; Randolph, *Life,* 7; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom,* 201. On the clock's use to schedule the agricultural workday, see Alan Brown and Taylor, *Gabr'l Blow Sof',* 14, 34, 48, 71, 101; Murray, *My Mother,* 68; Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron,* 57; Jackson, *Experience,* 14; Michael L. Nicholls, " 'In the Light,' " 77; Shields, *Plantation Life,* 8.

16. On the clock measuring industrial labor, see "Conditions in Mill Towns," in *American People,* ed. Allmendinger, 96; Miles, *Lowell,* 145; Prude, *Coming,* 107, 131. On planters using the clock to measure work, see Anonymous, Plantation Journal, Barnwell, South Carolina, August 1843, SCL; Daniel Cobb Diaries, September 4, 1857, VHS; Cobb, *Cobb's Ordeal,* 89; Grandy, *Narrative,* 27; Allen Parker, *Recollections of Slavery Times,* 64. On Americans wearing watches, see Stephens, *On Time,* 91–92. On northern timepiece consumption and availability, see *American Advertising Directory,* 178–79, 282–83, 355; Bruegel, " 'Time,' " 547–64; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 172; Stephens, *On Time,* 85–95. For a discussion of southern timepiece ownership and availability, see Mark M. Smith, "Counting Clocks"; Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 7, 11, 15–16, 18, 20, 22–38, 130–36, 150–51; G. D. Smith General Store Ledger, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia; *Southern Business Directory,* 159–60, 12, 31–32, 367–68, 61. On southern watch repair, see Benjamin Barton to B. M. Powell, March 27, 1855, Benjamin Barton Papers, letter book 1853–68, VHS; John D. Smith Watchmaker's Daybook, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; Lemuel Lynch Ledger C, 1860–81, Thomas Lynch and Mary Lynch Papers, DU.

17. On docking wages, see *Germantown Telegraph,* November 6, 1833. On the use of violence to enforce time discipline in northern factories, see *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania* 12 (April 19, 1834): 16; "Testimony of the Witness," *Pennsylvania Senate Journal,* 1837–38, pt. 2, pp. 280, 300, 304.

18. On the whip enforcing time discipline on southern plantations, see Ball, *Fifty Years in Chains,* 118; William Wells Brown, *Narrative,* 14. On the whip enforcing time discipline in southern industries, see Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 110–12; Robert, *Tobacco Kingdom,* 207; James M. Williams, "Negro Slave," 195.

19. On refraining from using the whip, see Dew, *Bond,* 108. On wage deduction, see Dew, *Bond,* 108; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 102.

20. Mark M. Smith, "An Old South by the Clock," in *Old South,* ed. Mark M. Smith, 43. On the evolution of clock consciousness in the American South, see also Mark M. Smith, *Mastered;* Mark M. Smith, "Old South Time."

21. On early rising, see Arthur, *Advice to Young Men,* 82–87; Thomasson, *North Carolina Yeoman,* 14; Fessenden, *New England Farmer's Almanack,* 32. On nature's expansion of southern working hours, see Avirett, *Old Plantation,* 33; "Privelges [*sic*]

of the Negroes on the Island Plantation," Richard Eppes Papers, sec. 69, VHS; James Henry Hammond, "Governor Hammond's Instructions to His Overseer," in *Documentary History,* ed. Rose, 69; "Management of Negroes," *Farmer and Planter* 11 (November 1851): 10; "Management of a Southern Plantation," *De Bow's Review* 22 (January 1857): 40. On the North, see *Monthly Journal of Agriculture* 11 (May 1846): 520; Shalhope, *Tale,* 21.

22. Prude, *Coming,* 36. See also Miles, *Lowell,* 145–46; Montgomery, *Practical Detail,* 177–78; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 37.

23. On seasonal shifts in work hours, see *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania,* March 8, 1828, 157–58; *Pennsylvania Senate Journal,* 1837–38, pt. 2, p. 280; "Conditions in Mill Towns," in *American People,* ed. Allmendinger, 96; Dublin, *From Farm to Factory,* 10, 14; Gibb, *Saco-Lowell Shops,* 153; Constance McLaughlin Green, *Holyoke,* 45, 47; *Hunt's* 16 (1847): 360; T. Leary, "Industrial Ecology and the Labor Process," in *Life and Labor,* ed. Stephenson and Asher, 54–55; Miles, *Lowell,* 70–71; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 37; Wallace, *Rockdale,* 178. On adjusting the clock in industry, see Hensley, "Time," 557; Gary B. Kulik, "Patterns of Resistance to Industrial Capitalism: Pawtucket Village and the Strike of 1824," in *American Workingclass Culture,* ed., Cantor, 229–40; Morrison, *History,* 68, 84, 91; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 39–41; Roediger and Foner, *Our Own Time,* 20, 21; Wallace, *Rockdale,* 328; Wilentz, *Chants,* 137.

24. Northrup, *Twelve Years a Slave,* 209; Winters, *Tennessee Farming,* 119; Cobb, *Cobb's Ordeal,* 76–77; *Monthly Journal of Agriculture* 1 (May 1846): 1105. For a further discussion of monthly agricultural tasks performed in Louisiana, see Northrup, *Twelve Years a Slave,* 163–75, 208–12. For Tennessee, see Winters, *Tennessee Farming,* 115–24. For a full discussion of the seasonal tasks completed on the Cobb plantation, see Cobb, *Cobb's Ordeal,* 97–175. On the natural rhythms of rural northern life, see Joseph F. Kett, "Growing up in Rural New England, 1800–1840," in *Anonymous Americans,* ed. Hareven, 7; Prude, *Coming,* 15; Shalhope, *Tale,* 12, 18–19, 21.

25. See Charles Manigault to Mr. Hayes, March 1847, Manigault Family Papers, SCL.

26. The occasional St. Monday celebrations among northern workers were a notable exception to the six-day workweek. For a discussion of such festivities, see Laurie, *Working People,* 33. On the antebellum Sabbath, see McCrossen, *Holy Day;* Stephens, *On Time,* 83.

27. Nowotny, *Time,* 102.

28. For a discussion on the penalties for Sabbath breaking, see *Black Code,* 15; Daniel Drake, *Oration;* Guion Griffis Johnson, *Antebellum North Carolina,* 479; Lockley, *Lines,* 84; Martin, *Killing Time,* 204; McCrossen, *Holy Day,* 25, 34, 37, 49, 107; *Sunday*

Sliding Party; Wylie, *Sabbath Laws.* On the violation of the Sabbath by planters and slaves, see Ball, *Slavery,* 43, 44, 108, 166, 187; John Brown, *Slave Life,* 48–50; Lockley, *Lines,* 66; Betty Wood, "Never on Sunday? Slavery and the Sabbath in Lowcountry Georgia, 1750–1830," in *From Chattel Slaves,* ed. Turner, 79–82; Wylie, *Sabbath Laws,* 12. For industrialists and wage laborers, see Lockley, *Lines,* 86–91; McCrossen, *Holy Day,* 14–15; Starobin, *Industrial Slavery,* 94. For immigrants, see *Cincinnati Enquirer,* December 4, 1853; Lockley, *Lines,* 84–86; McCrossen, *Holy Day,* 42–46.

29. On the suspension of Sabbath labor, see Avirett, *Old Plantation,* 33; Cobb Diaries, March 1, 1820; Cobb, *Cobb's Ordeal,* 19–20; Hughes, *Thirty Years,* 53; Michael L. Nicholls, "'In the Light,'" 77; Roberts, *Buckeye Schoolmaster,* 33; "Regulations to Be Observed by All Persons Employed by the —— Manufacturing Company, in the Factories," reprinted in Miles, *Lowell,* 146; Harvey Newcomb, *Young Lady's Guide,* 164; *Independent* 3 (November 27, 1851): 194; Thomasson, *North Carolina Yeoman,* 4, 17, 24. On clock-regulated worship, see *Charleston Daily Courier,* January 8, 1858; *St. Louis Daily Reveille,* June 8, 1844; William Kinzer Diaries, January 27, 1856, VHS; *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* December 1, 1860.

30. Earle, "November 18, 1883," 194. On local time in the nineteenth century, see also Bartky, *Selling,* 10; Blaise, *Time Lord,* 30–36; Lasker, "Standard Time," 265; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 114–15; Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 79; Stephens, *On Time,* 111.

31. On the clock as the quintessential symbol of modernity, see Landes, *Revolution,* 16; Mumford, *Technics and Civilizations,* 12–14, 470; Dohrn–van Rossum, *History,* 8–15.

32. On the war's modernity, see Catton, *America Goes to War,* 14–27; David Donald, *Lincoln Reconsidered;* Fuller, *Grant and Lee;* Luraghi, "Civil War."

33. On buying timepieces during the war, see Charles Moore, *Timing,* 42, 49–50. On the American watch industry, see Hazlitt, *Watch Factories;* Landes, *Revolution,* 290–320; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 144, 146–47, 151, 172–73. On Civil War soldiers buying and selling timepieces, see William H. Johnson to family, July 4, 1862, and William H. Johnson to Hannah J. Johnson, February 11, 1862, William Johnson Papers, folders 1–2, SCL; Mulligan, *My Dear Mother,* 69; Nevin, *"'On the March,'"* 126; Spiegel, *Your True Marcus,* 54, 56, 197. On securing timepieces from the home front, see Charles Davis to mother, January 15, 1862, November 13, 1862, March 4, 1863, Lois Wright Richardson Davis Papers, DU. On stealing timepieces, see Peddy, *Saddlebag,* 191; Jervey and Ravenel, *Two Diaries,* 10; Simms, *Sack,* 37, 45, 46; M. J. Solomon Scrapbook, 1861–63, 180, DU; Kate S. Sperry Diary, June 7, 1862, vol. 3, LV.

34. *O.R.,* vol. 1, "Section K—Calendars and Almanacs," 84, 85.

35. Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 76–77.

36. Blondheim, *News,* 211.

37. On Civil War codes and ciphers, see David Homer Bates, *Lincoln,* 54; Van Doren, *Secret Missions,* 309–20.

38. On the telegraph and the Battle of Bull Run, see Plum, *Military Telegraph,* 74–78.

39. Ross, *Trial,* 157–58.

Chapter One. Time Lost, Time Found: The Confederate Victory at Manassas and the Union Defeat at Bull Run

1. De Fontaine, *Army Letters,* 27–28.

2. Leonhard, *Fighting,* 3; *Charleston Mercury,* June 16, 1862.

3. Joint Committee, *Battle,* 3; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 15; Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln,* 179; T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and His Generals,* 21. For southerners demanding a quick offensive victory, see *Albany Evening Journal,* May 10, 1861; *Albany Patriot,* November 15, 1860; *Charleston Daily Courier,* October 27, 1863; *Eufala Express,* April 25, 1861; *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* May 3, 1861. For northern demands, see Pollard, *Southern History of the War,* 77; *New York Tribune,* May 21, 1861. For statements similar to McDowell's, see Ballard, *Military Genius,* 49; Luthin, *Real,* 290; Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln,* 301.

4. Union General George McClellan later used the name the Army of the Potomac for his forces.

5. E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 15.

6. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 485.

7. Averell, *Ten Years,* 292.

8. James B. Fry, "McDowell's Advance to Bull Run," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 1:180; Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 104; Haynes, *History,* 20; William T. Sherman, *Memoirs,* 198; Calore, *Land Campaigns,* 20; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 19. See also Anders, *Hearts,* 54; McDonald, *"We Shall Meet Again,"* 23; Averell, *Ten Years,* 291–92.

9. Joint Committee, *Battle,* 39, 4; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 305; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 21, 22.

10. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 312, 461. See also Fry, "McDowell's Advance," 178. Confederates often referred to this battle as the Battle of Bull Run and to the subsequent battle as the Battle of Manassas, while Federals referred to this initial skirmish as the Battle of Blackburn's Ford and to the subsequent battle as Bull Run.

11. On confusion caused by nonstandardized uniforms, see Anders, *Hearts,* 55; W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart,* 27; Calore, *Land Campaigns,* 25; H. Seymour Hall, "A Volunteer at the First Bull Run," in Grand Army, *War Talks,* 155; Mitchell, *Decisive Battles,* 31; McDonald, *"We Shall Meet Again,"* 2–4; Rafuse, *Single Grand Victory,* 146–47; Westervelt, *Lights and Shadows,* 13.

12. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 311.

13. Ibid., 473; Joseph E. Johnston, "Responsibilities of the First Bull Run," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 1:251–52.

14. Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative,* 36.

15. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 168, 473, 486.

16. P. G. T. Beauregard, "The First Battle of Bull Run," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 1:201–2; Joint Committee, *Battle,* 4, 30; Stedman, *Battle of Bull Run,* 12.

17. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 326. See also General Order 22, reprinted in R. M. Johnston, *Bull Run,* 144; Joint Committee, *Battle,* 41.

18. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 326, 331.

19. Joint Committee, *Battle,* 43, 24.

20. Beatie, *Road,* 143; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 331; Howard, *Autobiography,* 152; Finch, "Boys of '61," 255; Bevin Alexander, *Lost Victories,* 20; Virgil Carrington Jones, "Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861," in *Battles of the Civil War,* 16.

21. Finch, "Boys of '61," 255; Beatie, *Road,* 143.

22. Beatie, *Road,* 143, 145; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 331. For similar comments, see Bevin Alexander, *Lost Victories,* 20.

23. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 331, 348; Joint Committee, *Battle,* 42; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 45; Fry, "McDowell's Advance," 184. See also Finch, "Boys of '61," 256; Warder and Catlett, *Battle,* 17; Urban, *My Experiences,* 47.

24. Rhodes, *All,* 26; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 331; see also 333. See also Mosby, *Memoirs,* 74. On the 9:30 arrival time, see also Warder and Catlett, *Battle,* 17.

25. Urban, *My Experiences,* 47; Rhodes, *All,* 33; Howard, *Autobiography,* 153; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 413.

26. Joint Committee, *Battle,* 30; Beatie, *Road,* 147, 149; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 402, 333. See also Howard, *Autobiography,* 153; John G. Nicolay, "The Outbreak of Rebellion," in *Campaigns of the Civil War,* 183; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 74.

27. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs,* 199.

28. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 474, 487; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 44; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 67.

29. Mosby, *Memoirs,* 67, 68; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 474; ser. 1, vol. 51, pt. 2, p. 186; Beauregard, "First Battle," 1:205; Beauregard, *Battle,* 68.

30. *Richmond Dispatch,* August 8, 1861, 3.

31. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 536, 479, 537; Beauregard, *Battle,* 116. See also E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 29; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* 1:53, 54; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 69–70.

32. Beauregard, "First Battle," 1:209; Campbell Brown, "General Ewell at Bull Run," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 1:259, 260; "Memoranda on the Civil War," 778; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 491. See also Campbell Brown Books, July 21, 1861, 9, vol. 1, folder 1, SHC.

33. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 491, 565; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* 1:58. See also Mosby, *Memoirs,* 75.

34. E. P. Alexander, *Fighting,* 50; Fry, "McDowell's Advance," 185, 187; Robert Goldthwaite Carter, *Four Brothers,* 26; Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 107. See also *Battles of the Civil War,* 16; Farwell, *Stonewall,* 177; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 77–78.

35. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 481, 491; Blake, *Three Years,* 18; Todd, *Seventy-ninth Highlanders,* 34; Goss, *Recollections,* 13; Rhodes, *All,* 29. See also Fry, "McDowell's Advance," 186. For similar statements on a Union victory, see Brayton Harris, *Blue and Gray,* 71–72; Russell, *My Diary North and South,* 223.

36. John D. Imboden, "Incidents of the First Bull Run," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 1:234; Blake, *Three Years,* 18.

37. Robert Goldthwaite Carter, *Four Brothers,* 23–24; Fry, "McDowell's Advance," 186–87.

38. W. W. Blackford, *War Years,* 27. See also Yates, *Jeb Stuart Speaks,* 36–37.

39. Westervelt, *Lights and Shadows,* 13. See also Calore, *Land Campaigns,* 25.

40. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 369–70, 409; Joseph E. Johnston, "Responsibilities," 249; Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 116.

41. Howard, *Autobiography,* 53, 160; McClellan, *I Rode,* 35; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 418, 422. On the noise of war, see Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America,* 198–218.

42. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, pp. 496, 497; Bevin Alexander, *Lost Victories,* 29.

43. Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative,* 52; Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War,* 43; Keyes, *Fifty Years' Observation,* 435; W. W. Blackford, *War Years,* 34. For similar comments, see Mosby, *Memoirs,* 52, 83; Brogan, *Abraham Lincoln,* 99; Farwell, *Stonewall,* 183. On the timing of the Union retreat, see also Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* 1:73; Woodworth, *Civil War Generals in Defeat,* 47.

44. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 320; Stedman, *Battle of Bull Run,* 41; Joint Committee, *Battle,* 181; Blake, *Three Years,* 29. On the greenness of troops, see also Howard, *Autobiography,* 164. For similar comments, see Curtis, *From Bull Run,* 50; Nicolay, "Outbreak," 195.

45. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 334. For similar comments on the disorganization of Union forces, see Bevin Alexander, *Lost Victories,* 27; Griffith, *Battle Tactics,* 41; Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 116.

46. *Philadelphia Weekly Press,* July 23, 1861; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 55; for an elaboration of Longstreet's view, see also 56.

47. Mosby, *Memoirs,* 65; Joseph E. Johnston, "Responsibilities," 252; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 504. See also Early, *Lieutenant General,* 41; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 84.

48. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 504; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative,* 64. See also Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson,* 117–18; Imboden, "Incidents," 239.

Chapter Two. "An Hour Too Late": The Confederate Defeat at Gettysburg

1. John Cheves Haskell, "Reminiscences of the Confederate War, 1861–65," VHS. Numerous historical works assign blame to General Longstreet, including Dowdey, *Death,* 241–42; Pendleton, *Memoirs,* 284–86. Longstreet's defenders generally located blame among other leaders. Swinton singled out Lee in *Campaigns.* Longstreet's redemption continued in the 1950s with works suggesting that Longstreet's degradation was merely a clever way of preserving Lee's mythic reputation; see Tucker, *High Tide;* Tucker, *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg;* Longstreet, *From Manassas;* E. P. Alexander, *Fighting;* Piston, *Lee's Tarnished Lieutenant;* Bellows and Connelly, *God and General Longstreet;* Foster, *Ghosts.* Blame is also attributed to Lee by Stackpole, "Battle of Gettysburg"; Wisloski, "Robert E. Lee"; Luvass, "Lee"; Rubel, "Gettysburg and Midway"; Gary W. Gallagher, "Confederate Corps Leadership," in *First Day,* ed. Gallagher, 30–57.

2. Clausewitz, *On War,* 25; Rubel, "Gettysburg and Midway," 97; Luvass, "Lee," 2. On the decentralized nature of Lee's command, see Palmer, *Lee Moves North,* 67.

3. Archer Jones, *Civil War Command,* 124; Palmer, *Lee Moves North,* 67; Gary W. Gallagher, "If the Enemy Is There," in *Second Day,* ed. Gallagher, 15; James Longstreet to Lafayette McLaws, July 25, 1873, Lafayette McLaws Papers, SHC. On Lee's lack of written orders, see Tucker, *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg,* 219. See also William Garrett Piston, "Longstreet, Lee, and Confederate Attack," in *Third Day,* ed. Gallagher, 144.

4. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, pp. 317, 444.

5. Ibid., pt. 2, pp. 614, 607, 555; ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 444; Henry J. Hunt, "The First Day at Gettysburg," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:275; Coffin, *Eyewitness,* 40; Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 51; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 231; McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 172; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 381. On the 5:00 A.M. movement,

see E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 381; Boyles, *Soldiers True,* 115; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 353.

6. E. P. Halstead, "Incidents of the First Day at Gettysburg," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:284; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, pp. 914, 245, 266, 354, 702; ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 461; Young, *Battle,* 191.

7. Stefanish, "Confederate Errors," 23; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 553, 587, 578, 58, 444, 566. On the lack of coordination at Gettysburg, see Early, *Lieutenant General,* 178; McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 179.

8. Hassler, *A. P. Hill,* 158; Nofi, *Gettysburg Campaign,* 87.

9. McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 175; Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 97; Coffin, *Eyewitness,* 64; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 318; Trimble, "Battle and Campaign," 118. See also Pfanz, *Gettysburg,* 81.

10. Early, *Lieutenant General,* 271.

11. E. P. Alexander, "Why We Lost at Gettysburg," 48.

12. Pfanz, *Gettysburg,* 71–87. See also Woodworth, *Beneath a Northern Sky,* 105.

13. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 3, p. 923; James Longstreet, "Lee's Invasion of Pennsylvania," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:251; McClellan, *I Rode,* 333; Young, *Battle,* 262, 263.

14. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War,* 160; Armistead Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee,* 227; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 233–34. On the morning attack order, see also Coffin, *Eyewitness,* 74; Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* 3:114; McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 176.

15. Jubal Early, "The Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee," in "Supplement to General Early's Review," 269; Young, *Battle,* 219; Pendleton, *Memoirs,* 284; see also 285–88. On the dawn attack, see also Tucker, *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg,* 12; Palmer, *Lee Moves North,* 84; McPherson, *Battle Cry,* 656.

16. Taylor to Longstreet, April 28, 1875, in Walter H. Taylor, *Four Years,* 101; William Allen, "A Reply to General Longstreet," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:356; E. P. Alexander, *Fighting,* 234; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 361, 362, 365; Venable to Longstreet, May 11, 1875, in Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 380; Tucker, *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg,* 18; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 573, 372, 366. See also Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 379–81. On the 11:00 order, see also Coffin, *Eyewitness,* 69; Marshall, *Aide-De-Camp,* 234; Persico, *My Enemy,* 154.

17. Poague, *Gunner,* 71; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 233; Armistead Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee,* 281; Nofi, *Gettysburg Campaign,* 100. See also Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* 3:114.

18. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 358, 351; ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 449; Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 164; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 234; Walter H. Taylor, *General Lee,* 203; Fre-

mantle, *Fremantle Diary,* 206. On aurality and battle, see Ross, *Civil War Acoustic Shadows;* Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America,* 198–237.

19. McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 176; Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 139; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 116. See also George Meade, "General Meade," in *Joint Committee,* 3:332. For similar statements regarding the importance of Little Round Top, see Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 187; Henry J. Hunt, "The Second Day at Gettysburg," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:301.

20. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 446. See also Daniel, *Campaign and Battles,* 27; Hunt, "Second Day," 294; Pendleton, *Memoirs,* 289.

21. Tucker, *Lee and Longstreet at Gettysburg,* 254; Howard, *Autobiography,* 427.

22. John S. Lewis to mother, July 21, 1863, Harry Lewis Letters, SHC; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 608, 385; Hassler, *A. P. Hill,* 161; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 400.

23. Young, *Battle,* 267; McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 179.

24. Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 385.

25. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 320, 447; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 385; E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 415; William Garrett Piston, "Cross Purposes," in *Third Day,* ed. Gallagher, 35.

26. E. P. Alexander, "The Great Charge and Artillery Fight at Gettysburg," in *Battles and Leaders,* ed. Buel and Johnson, 3:364.

27. Joseph Graham to William Graham, July 30, 1863, William Graham Papers, SHC; E. P. Alexander, "Why We Lost at Gettysburg," 54; Coffin, *Eyewitness,* 105; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 385, 434, 614; Dunaway, *Reminiscences of a Rebel,* 91; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 239; Pickett, *Heart,* 97; Pendleton, *Memoirs,* 290; Sorrel, *At the Right Hand,* 171. See also Coddington, *Gettysburg Campaign,* 781.

28. E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs,* 423–24.

29. E. P. Alexander, "Why We Lost at Gettysburg," 55; Longstreet, *From Manassas,* 220; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, pp. 618, 651, 659, 376; Joseph Graham to William Graham, July 30, 1863, Graham Papers; Pickett, *Heart,* 98; Marshall, *Aide-de-Camp,* 239; Dunaway, *Reminiscences of a Rebel,* 91; Daniel, *Campaign and Battles,* 33; Seymour, *Civil War Memoirs,* 77; Walter H. Taylor, *Four Years,* 99. On the two-hour duration of the cannonade, see also *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 2, p. 608.

30. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, pp. 425, 318, 380, 449, 831, 478, 437; Daniel Butterfield, "General Meade," *Joint Committee,* 3:425; Beecham, *Gettysburg,* 224, 227, 239; A. P. Howe, "General Meade," *Joint Committee,* 1:313. For ten minutes as the length of the cannonade, see Crotty, *Four Years,* 92; for eleven hours, see *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 27, pt. 1, p. 403.

31. McCreary, "Gettysburg," 243.

32. Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 10, 18; McCreary, "Gettysburg," 243; *Philadelphia Weekly Press,* November 16, 1887.

33. Henry E. Jacobs, "How an Eye-Witness Watched the Great Battle," *Philadelphia Weekly Press,* June 29, 1913; Hollinger, *Some Personal Recollections,* 2; Henry E. Jacobs, "Gettysburg: Fifty Years Ago," 3; McCurdy, *Gettysburg: A Memoir,* 15.

34. Lydia Ziegler Clare Account, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania; Bennett, *Days,* 60; Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 34, 96; Broadhead, *Diary,* 12.

35. W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart,* 231; Jennie S. Croll, "Days of Dread," *Philadelphia Weekly Press,* November 16, 1887.

36. McCurdy, *Gettysburg: A Memoir,* 10, 21, 11; Buehler, *Recollections,* 16–17; Patterson, *Debris,* 21. See also Mary McAllister, "Woman Lifts Curtain on Gettysburg," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* June 26, 1938.

37. McCreary, "Gettysburg," 244. On water distribution at Gettysburg, see also Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 42; Elizabeth Thorn, "Mrs. Thorn's War Story," *Gettysburg Times,* July 2, 1938; Salome Myers Stewart, *Ties,* 148; McAllister, "Woman Lifts Curtain on Gettysburg."

38. Buehler, *Recollections,* 20; Salome Myers Stewart, *Ties,* 150. On the disruption of clock-regulated meals by battle, see also Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 61; Thorn, "Mrs. Thorn's War Story."

39. Salome Myers Stewart, *Ties,* 149; Mary McAllister, "Rebels at Gettysburg Ate Molasses in Hunger," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* June 28, 1938.

40. Broadhead, *Diary,* 13, 14; McAllister, "Woman Lifts Curtain"; Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 44–45; McCreary, "Gettysburg," 250.

41. M. Jacobs, *Notes,* 32; William McClean, "A Boy at Gettysburg," *Gettysburg Compiler,* June 8, 1908; McCreary, "Gettysburg," 248; Skelly, *Boy's Experiences,* 11.

42. Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 19, 53, 54; McCurdy, *Gettysburg: A Memoir,* 19; Patterson, *Debris,* 21; Hollinger, *Some Personal Recollections,* 2.

43. Thorn, "Mrs. Thorn's War Story."

44. Buehler, *Recollections,* 17; Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 90; Broadhead, *Diary,* 12–13, 14. On civilians being ordered to their cellars, see also Salome Myers Stewart, *Ties,* 148, 152. On battle time dictating cellar time, see also Buehler, *Recollections,* 6; Hollinger, *Some Personal Recollections,* 5, 6; McCreary, "Gettysburg," 245, 246, 247; McCurdy, *Gettysburg: A Memoir,* 18, 22; Thorn, "Mrs. Thorn's War Story"; Salome Myers Stewart, *Ties,* 148.

45. Alleman, *At Gettysburg,* 75; Hollinger, *Some Personal Recollections,* 6; Broadhead, *Diary,* 16.

Chapter Three. "Like a Wheel in a Watch": Soldiers, Camp, and Battle Time

1. Isaac Newton Parker, *Seneca Indian,* 80.

2. Samuel Andrew Agnew Diary, October 10, 1863, 21; October 12, 1963, 24; October 20, 1863, 36; January 25, 1864, 147; February 8, 1864, 161; March 14, 1864, 203; March 16, 1864, 206; April 7, 1864, 230, SHC.

3. Landes, *Revolution,* 317. On the Waltham Watch Company during the Civil War, see also Gitelman, *Workingmen,* 41; Charles Moore, *Timing,* 40–41; O'Malley, *Keeping Watch,* 172; Sanderson, *Waltham Industries,* 95.

4. On the Waltham Watch Company's recovery during the Civil War, see "Treasurer's Report, 1860–1866," Waltham Watch Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Massachusetts. See also Marsh, *Original American Watchmaking Plant,* 13.

5. Sidney Carter, *Dear Bet,* 6; Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 31; Horrocks, *My Dear Parents,* 45. On the clock-driven nature of Union camp life, see Beatty, *Memoirs,* 40; Davenport, *Camp and Field Life,* 23; Dexter, *Seymour Dexter,* 16; Higginson, *Army Life,* 107; Owen, " 'Dear Friends,' " 20; Spiegel, *Your True Marcus,* 327. On the clock-regulated nature of Confederate camp life, see R. A. Bullock to cousin, July 11, 1861, and William N. Kilgoe Diary, November 27, 1861, Confederate States of America Archives, Army Miscellany, Prison Papers, 1861–65, "Maps, Officers', and Soldiers' Miscellaneous Letters, 1861–62," box 1, DU; William Kinzer Diaries, September 2, 1861, vol. 5, VHS; McKim, *Soldier's Recollections,* 46–47; Nugent, *My Dear Nellie,* 59; *Yorkville Enquirer* clipping, September 19, 1861, Joseph and William Templeton Papers, SCL; Henri Duplessis Wells to Carry, March 30, 1862, Henri Duplessis Wells Papers, SHC; Edward Rush Young Order Book, May 5, 1861, Edward Rush Young Papers, LV; Isaiah White Diary, November 5, 1864, Isaiah H. White Papers, DU; Wilson, *Confederate Soldier,* 30; *Yorkville Enquirer,* September 19, 1861.

6. William Watson, *Life,* 145, 148, 151, 152; Elias Winans Price to family, March 20, 1863, Elias Winans Price Papers, SHC; James Campbell to Zoe Jane Campbell, March 24, 1863, Zoe Jane Campbell Papers, SHC.

7. J. W. Reid, *History,* 13, 32; Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 62; Berry Benson to uncle and aunt, Berry Benson Papers, SHC. For further comments on clock-driven guard duty in Union camps, see Pettit, *Diary,* 59; Elias Winans Price to sister, September 8, 1863, Price Papers; Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 75. On the clock-driven nature of Confederate guard duty, see Fay, *This Infernal War,* 31; Henry Duplessis Wells to Carry, March 30, 1862, Wells Papers; Henry C. Wall Diary, February 23, 1862, February 24, 1862, Leake-Wall Family Papers, vol. 7, folder 16, SHC.

8. Constant C. Hanks to mother, May 12, 1862 Constant C. Hanks Papers, DU; Eugene Marshall Diary, May 10, 1865, DU. On leisure activities, see also Boyles, *Reminiscences of the Civil War,* 6; Chisolm, *Manual,* 59; Robert Masten Holmes, *Kemper County Rebel,* 74; Madden, *Beyond,* 82–125; Robert A. Moore, *Life,* 83; Silber and Sievens, *Yankee Correspondence,* 61.

9. Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes,* 128–29; James M. Williams, *From,* 28. For similar statements, see Mulligan, *My Dear Mother,* 57. The volume of Civil War letters and journals attests to the popularity of writing as a leisure activity. For a discussion of the inculcation of time thrift in antebellum America, see Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 3, 11, 39–42, 57–63, 67, 70, 100, 161–62.

10. Oren E. Farr to Addie, 1861, Oren E. Farr Papers, DU; Fiske, *Mr. Dunn Browne's Experiences,* 136; Boyd, *Civil War Diary,* 16; Eli Landers to Susan Landers, August 14, 1861, in *Weep Not,* ed. Roberson, 33. On penalties for violating the clock's authority, see Davenport, *Camp and Field Life,* 115; Clayton, *Damned,* 30–31; Mosby, *Memoirs,* 26; James M. Williams, *From,* 2.

11. Boyd, *Civil War Diary,* 18; Lyon, *"Desolating,"* 78, Dawes, *Full Blown Yankee,* 22–34; Goodloe, *Confederate Echoes,* 126. See also Ayling, *Yankee,* 156; Robert Masten Holmes, *Kemper County Rebel,* 27; Pettit, *Diary,* 58; Thomas Smith, *"We Have It Damn Hard,"* 9; Woodworth, *Cultures,* 54.

12. *Sunday in the Army and Navy,* 4.

13. *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 51, pt. 2, pp. 472–73; ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 4, p. 948; *Sunday in the Army and Navy,* 18. See also McCrossen, *Holy Day,* 46; Schaff, *Anglo-American Sabbath,* 29, 31; *Sunday in the Army and Navy,* 14–15, 18; Wheelock, *Boys,* 87.

14. Beringer et al., *Why the South Lost,* 38; Chesebrough, *"God Ordained";* Alexander Haskell to parents, April 11, 1861, Haskell Papers, SHC; Kate S. Sperry Diary, November 15, 1861, vol. 1, LV; Heyward, *Confederate Lady,* 22; *O.R.,* ser. 1, vol. 33, chap. 45, p. 1150; See also Elliott, *God's Presence,* 1; Sperry Diary, July 27, 1862, vol. 1; Maury, *Confederate Diary,* 37, 51; Prim, "Born Again," 39; *Sunday in the Army and Navy,* 25. On fasting to curry God's favor, see also Hildebrand, *Mennonite Journal,* 11; Sperry Diary, February 28, 1862, vol. 2.

15. Samuel J. Watson, "Religion," 39. For the contingent nature of Sabbath observance, see Faust, "Christian Soldiers," 65.

16. Shattuck, *Shield,* 77; Diary, June 19, 1864, Charles Milton Hopper Papers, SHC; Westcoat, "Diary," 13; Watkins Kearns Diary, July 13, 1861, VHS; Mulligan, *My Dear Mother,* 26; Edwards, *"Dear Friend,"* 135. See also Lamers, *Edge,* 188, 242, 338; Faust, "Christian Soldiers," 65. For a further discussion of the observance of the Sabbath in Union camps, see Owen, " 'Dear Friends,' " 22.

17. Brewster, *When This Cruel War,* 170, 280. On Civil War soundscapes, see Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America,* 195–237.

18. Hitchcock, *From Ashby,* 3–4; Nugent, *My Dear Nellie,* 166; Robert A. Moore, *Life,* 28; McMahon, *John T. McMahon's Diary,* 25.

19. A. M. Stewart, *Camp,* 12, 256; Isaac Noyes Smith, "Virginian's Dilemma," 184. For similar statements on the secularization of the Sabbath in Union camps, see Ayling, *Yankee,* 102; Brewster, *When This Cruel War,* 39; Haley, *Rebel Yell,* 34; Horrocks, *My Dear Parents,* 112; Keenan, *To the Knife,* 20; Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 31; Henry S. White, *Prison Life,* 43. For Confederate camps, see Blakey, Lainhart, and Stephens, *Rose Cottage Chronicles,* 93; J. William Jones, *Christ,* 132; Sheeran, *Confederate Chaplain,* 34–35; Edward Rush Young Diary, July 14, 1861, Young Papers, LV.

20. Joseph Milton Elkins to Sarah Elkins, July 21, 1861, Joseph Milton Elkins Papers, VHS; *Plea,* 23; Charles Norton to mother, June 23, 1861, Charles Norton Diary, DU. On the disruption of God's time by battle time, see also William Bevins Diary, June 12, 1864, William Bevins Papers, SHC; Samuel Angus Firebaugh Diary, September 28, 1862, November 3, 1862, November 30, 1862, January 7, 1863, January 14, 1863, SHC; Terry A. Johnston, *Him;* Cannon, *Bloody Banners,* 70; Edwards, *"Dear Friend,"* 103.

21. Soper, "Erasus B. Soper's History," 320; A. M. Stewart, *Camp,* 262.

22. Faust, "Christian Soldiers," 65; Joseph B. Harrell Diary, April 16, 1862, SHC; Betts, *Experience,* 21; Dexter, *Seymour Dexter,* 108. For the disruption of clock-regulated Sabbath services by battle time in Confederate camp, see Cannon, *Bloody Banners,* 95; Shattuck, *Shield,* 60; Wiley, *Life.* For Union camps, see Brewster, *When This Cruel War,* 120; Humphreys, *Field,* 4; A. M. Stewart, *Camp,* 255.

23. Sawyer in Madden, *Beyond,* 65; Ayling, *Yankee,* 42; Kearns Diary, January 12, 1862; Wall Diary, April 13, 1862; Aristide Hopkins Diary, October 24, 1864, SHC. For similar statements on battle time's disruption of sleep, see Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 34; Isaac Hirsch Diary, July 21, 1861, July 22, 1861, LV; James M. Williams, *From,* 75.

24. Kinzer Diaries, December 16, 1861, vol. 5; Robbins, *Through Ordinary Eyes,* 34; James M. Williams, *From,* 98.

25. Robert A. Moore, *Life,* 75; Bevins Diary, June 24, 1861; Mattocks, *Unspoiled Heart,* 39; Edwards, *"Dear Friend,"* 19; Wall Diary, February 4, 1862.

26. Ayling, *Yankee,* 147; see also 151; Silliman, *New Canaan Private,* 2; John Price Kepner Diary, September 19, 1864, VHS.

27. Brewster, *When This Cruel War,* 122; Callaway, *Civil War Letters,* 13; C. H. Richardson to sister, June 17, 1861, Lois Wright Richardson Davis Papers, DU.

28. Spiegel, *Your True Marcus,* 60; Pardington, *Dear Sarah,* 34; Kearns Diary, June 4, 1862; see also January 12, 1862.

29. Gibney, "Your Affectionate Son," 42; Horrocks, *My Dear Parents,* 65; George Stanley Dewey to mother, April 10, 1862, George Stanley Dewey Papers, SHC; Marshall Diary, March 9, 1865.

Chapter Four. Battle Time: Gender, Modernity, and Civil War Hospitals

1. Faust, *Mothers,* 92; Kate Cumming, *Journal,* xi; Massey, *Bonnet Brigades,* 367; Wolfe, *Daughters,* 132; Friedman, *Enclosed Garden,* 104; Drew Gilpin Faust, "Ours as Well as That of the Men," in *Writing,* ed. McPherson and Cooper, 234; Rable, *Civil Wars,* 288. On archetypal womanhood, see Bynum, *Unruly Women,* 4; Clinton, *Plantation Mistress,* 16; Clinton, *Tara Revisited,* 41–42; Faust, *Creation,* 51; Faust, *Mothers,* 3–4, 7; Fox-Genovese, *Within,* 47, 109, 196–97. On the ostracism of Civil War nurses, see Baker, *Cyclone,* 16; Brinton, *Personal Memoirs,* 43; Culpepper, *Trials and Triumphs,* 315; Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice," in *Divided Houses,* ed. Silber and Clinton, 186; Friedman, *Enclosed Garden,* 194; Melosh, *Physician's Hand;* Dawson, *Sarah Morgan,* 123–24; Rable, *Civil Wars,* 121; Walsh, *"Doctors Wanted,"* xii, xviii, 246.

2. Rable, *Civil Wars,* 121; Berlin, introduction to Bacot, *Confederate Nurse,* 11–12; Faust, *Mothers,* 92–93; Massey, *Bonnet Brigades,* 45, 64; Weiner, *Mistresses,* 2; Schultz, "Inhospitable Hospital," 369–70. For a discussion of gendered control of time, see Davies, *Women,* 35, 107; Ingold, "Work, Time, and Industry"; Kristeva, "Women's Time"; Le Feurve, "Leisure"; Pasero, "Social Time Patterns."

3. Kearney, *Slaveholder's Daughter,* 3; Irving, *Day,* x; Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood,* 62–63. On gendered spheres, see Cott, *Bonds.* For the opposite opinion, see Ryan, *Women.* For statements similar to those quoted in the text, see Clinton, *Tara Revisited,* 42; De Saussure, *Old Plantation Days,* 1, 27; Fearn, *Diary of a Refugee,* 27; Meta Morris Grimball Journal, 5, SHC; Weiner, *Mistresses,* 5; Alston, *Rice Planter,* 10; Connell, *Tokens,* 11; Burge, *Diary,* 4; Thomas, *Secret Eye,* 121.

4. Stansell, *City,* 163; Cott, *Bonds,* 49; Anonymous, "Farming Life in New England," 337. For similar statements regarding northern middle-class women, see Ayer, *Diary,* 236, 236, 241, 243, 278; Blanche Brown Bryant and Baker, *Diaries,* 4; Sigourney, *Lucy Howard's Journal,* 112; Kelly, *In New England Fashion,* 29. For similar statements on working-class women, see Greene, *Glance at New York,* 163. On northern farm wives, see James Arthur Frost, *Life,* 24.

5. Arthur, *Advice to Young Ladies,* 37; "Housekeeping," *Prairie Farmer,* January 27,

1859, 58; "Idle Visits," *American Cotton Planter,* February 1857, 56; *American Farmer,* July 27, 1827, 150.

6. Livermore, *Story of My Life,* 53; De Saussure, *Old Plantation Days,* 27–28. For similar statements, see William Wells Brown, *Narrative,* 36.

7. Rable, *Civil Wars,* 9; Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood,* 32. See also Wiener, *Social Origins,* 14. On the adjustment of clock-regulated meals to accommodate nature, see Fearn, *Diary of a Refugee,* 84; Foby, "Management of Servants," *Southern Cultivator,* August 1853, 226–28; "Management of Negroes," *De Bow's Review* 10 (March 1851): 328; Murray, *My Mother,* 68.

8. Cott, *Bonds,* 58, 60; Thompson, "Time," 79; "Recipes," *Maine Farmer,* June 10, 1833, 159; Louis Manigault Prescription Book, 1852, Manigault Family Papers, box 6, DU; LeClercq, *Antebellum Plantation Household,* 79, 80. See also Ingold, "Work, Time, and Industry," 17–20; "Housewife's Department," *Monthly Journal of Agriculture,* July 1846, 93. Both Thompson and Cott argue that the task rather than the clock organized women's domestic labor.

9. Gilman, *Recollections of a Southern Matron,* 25; Helen E. M. Munson, "Servants Instructions," Munson-Williams-Proctor Family Papers, Oneida Historical Society, Oneida, New York; Hughes, *Thirty Years,* 71, 72; Singleton, *Recollections of My Slavery Days,* 3. See also Aleckson, *Before the War,* 11–12.

10. On the appropriateness of white women's charity work, see Lebsock, *Free Women,* 145. On white women's nondomestic work, see Kierner, *Beyond the Household;* Varon, *We Mean.*

11. Female Benevolent Society, *Revised Constitution,* 5.

12. For statements illustrating male control of the clock and its use in establishing hospital schedules, see *1862 Regulations of Confederate Hospitals,* SCL; *General Military Hospital,* 3, 5, 8; Simkins and Patton, *Women of the Confederacy,* 87.

13. Pryor, "The Hospital Was Filled to Overflowing," in *Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital,* ed. Katharine M. Jones, 130.

14. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 33, 34; "Time Table of the Hours at Which Medicines Are to Be Given—For the Guidance of Nurses, Matrons, & Wardmasters," Chimborazo Records, vol. 18, quoted in Carol Cranmer Green, "Chimborazo," 174; Rogge, "Development," 84; Boyden, *War Reminiscences,* 164–65; Sara Rice Pryor, "The Hospital Was Filled to Overflowing," in *Ladies of Richmond, Confederate Capital,* ed. Katharine M. Jones, 130; Bacot, *Confederate Nurse,* 77. On the clock-regulated nature of southern hospital work, see Lucy London Anderson, *North Carolina Women,* 40; General Regulations of General Hospital no. 3. Lynchburg, July 1, 1863, VHS; Order Book and Letter Book, Wayside Hospital, Charleston, July

27, 1863, SCL; Schroeder-Lein, *Confederate Hospitals,* 75, 110; Sanford, *Code,* 52. On the clock-regulated nature of northern hospital work, see Alcott, *Hospital Sketches,* 39, 41–42; Leonard, *Yankee Women,* 123; Parsons, *Memoir of Emily Elizabeth Parsons,* 20, 24, 38, 98; Boyden, *War Reminiscences,* 164–65; Adelaide W. Smith, *Reminiscences,* 36, 37, 39, 40; Joseph Janvier Woodward, *Hospital Steward's Manual,* 78–79. For similar statements about time regulation in hospitals, see S. E. D. Smith, *Soldier's Friend,* 119.

15. For a discussion on the conflict between clock time and biological time, see Paul Bellaby, "Broken Rhythms and Unmet Deadlines," in *Time, Health, and Medicine,* ed. Frankenberg, 108.

16. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 55, 77–78.

17. Bacot, *Confederate Nurse,* 147, 127, 104, 108, 97, 114, 104.

18. McGuire, *Diary,* 179; Annie E. Johnson, "Hospitals at Danville," in *Our Women,* 222; von Olnhausen, *Adventures,* 54; Mary Newcomb, *Four Years,* 33; Emily Mason, "Memoirs of a Hospital Matron," 314. The disease to which Mason refers is most likely diphtheria, a respiratory infection that often results in the formation of a white membrane over the mouth that can suffocate the patient. For the biological disruption of clock time in northern hospitals, see Boyden, *War Reminiscences,* 25; Swisshelm, *Crusader,* 232. For southern hospitals, see Andrews, *Women,* 133; Beers, *Memories,* 84; Kate Cumming, *Journal,* 44, 15, 21; Richard, *Florence Nightingale,* 18, 39; Simkins and Patton, *Women of the Confederacy,* 86.

19. On the blurring of work and leisure as a signpost of premodernity, see Ingold, "Work, Time, and Industry," 9. For a discussion of the war's modern nature, see Luraghi, "Civil War," 243.

20. S. E. D. Smith, *Soldier's Friend,* 118; Hancock, *South,* 7; S. E. Habersham, Order, April 2, 1865, Chimborazo Records, 408:36, quoted in Carol Cranmer Green, "Chimborazo," 291; Wormeley, *Other Side,* 114–15; McGuire, *Diary,* 179.

21. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 54, 103; Susan L. Blackford, *Letters,* 259; von Olnhausen, *Adventures,* 128; Richard, *Florence Nightingale,* 89; Underwood, *Women of the Confederacy,* 115; Record Book 1, U.S. Sanitary Commission, August 31, 1862, Amy Morris Bradley Papers, DU. On the extension of working hours in southern hospitals, see Lucy London Anderson, *North Carolina Women,* 41; Bacot, *Confederate Nurse,* 104; S. L. A. Bidd, "Montgomery," in *Our Women,* 260; Bryce, *Reminiscences,* 7, 16–17, 22; Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie,* 319; W. J. Donald, "Alabama Confederate Hospitals: Part II," 75; B. W. Green, "Hospital Work of Judge James Green and Wife," in *Confederate Women of Arkansas,* 99; Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay,* 185. On northern hospitals, see also Hancock, *South,* 7; Frank Moore, "Mrs. Mary A. Lee," in *Our Women,* 162–63; Boyden, *War Reminiscences,* 111–14.

22. Massey, *Bonnet Brigades,* 56; Rable, *Civil Wars,* 165. For the impact of intense and varying levels of work on health, see Nyland, *Reduced Worktime,* 59.

23. Kate Cumming, *Journal,* 35, 12; Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 110; von Olnhausen, *Adventures,* 131.

24. Susan L. Blackford, *Letters,* 261; Swisshelm, *Crusader,* 234; see also 246; Bryce, *Reminiscences,* 23. On the conflict between the demands of nursing and northern nurses' biological demands, see also Holstein, *Three Years,* 3; Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 499; Massey, *Women in the Civil War,* 63; Frank Moore, "Mrs. Isabella Fogg," in *Our Women,* 121; Frank Moore, "Mrs. E. E. George," in *Our Women,* 339; Frank Moore, "Mrs. Harriet W. F. Hawley," in *Our Women,* 390; Mary Newcomb, *Four Years,* 78; Parsons, *Memoir of Emily Elizabeth Parsons,* 4. On the conflict between the demands of nursing and Confederate nurses' biological demands, see also Bridges, "Juliet Opie Hopkins," 69; "The Hospitals," in United Daughters, *South Carolina Women,* 101.

25. Ropes, *Civil War Nurse,* 131; Bridges, "Juliet Opie Hopkins," 69.

26. Schroeder-Lein, *Confederate Hospitals,* 64; von Olnhausen, *Adventures,* 153; W. Woodward to Horatio Nelson Hollifield, August 5, 1863, Horatio Nelson Hollifield Papers, DU.

27. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 54; Emily Mason, "Memoirs of a Hospital Matron," 316; Bidd, "Montgomery," 260.

28. Bacot, *Confederate Nurse,* 99–100; Frank Moore, "Mrs. Harriet W. F. Hawley," 389. See also, Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 219.

29. Kate Cumming, *Journal,* 84.

30. Ibid.; Woolsey, *Hospital Days,* 117–18.

31. Orra Langhorne, "Hospital Memoirs," in *Our Women,* 248; Livermore, *My Story of the War,* 494.

32. S. E. D. Smith, *Soldier's Friend,* 85; von Olnhausen, *Adventures,* 77; Edmonds, *Memoirs,* 125. On battle's disruption of the Confederacy's clock-regulated hospital schedules, see also Andrews, *Women,* 137; B. W. Green, "Hospital Work," 99; Massey, *Bonnet Brigades,* 56. On battle's disruption of northern clock-regulated hospital routines, see also Holstein, *Three Years,* 31–33; McKay, *Stories,* 39, 40; Frank Moore, "Mrs. Isabella Fogg," 121–22.

33. Pember, *Southern Woman's Story,* 129; Catherine Prioleau Ravenel, "Personal Recollections," in United Daughters, *South Carolina Women,* 148; Downey, "Call," 52. For a statement similar to Ravenel's, see *Charleston Daily Courier,* February 11, 1865.

34. For a discussion of nurses' return to plantation life, see Friedman, *Enclosed Garden,* 105; Rable, *Civil Wars,* 128.

35. For African Americans, the temporal world of the plantation changed radically. In the postbellum era, African Americans owned their time and labor and used their sense of clock time, inculcated under slavery, to negotiate with former masters about the terms, hours, and payments for their labor. See Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 154–76; Saville, *Work,* 110–21, 130–35. For the withdrawal of African American labor from postbellum plantations, see Burton, "Ungrateful Servants," 347; Jenkins, *Seizing,* 43–44; Jacqueline Jones, *Labor,* 53, 58; Kolchin, *First Freedom,* 4, 6, 62; Schwalm, *Hard Fight,* 208–11.

36. Avary, *Dixie,* 189; Roark, *Masters,* 149; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years,* 309; see also 325; Charles Manigault to Louis Manigault, April 10, 1865, April 30, 1865, in Clifton, *Life and Labor,* 351, 353; Samuel Andrew Agnew Diary, January 5, 1866, January 29, 1865, SHC; Lillian Mayne, "A Word for Farmers' Wives," *Southern Planter and Farmer* 7 (November 1873): 560.

37. Rable, *Civil Wars,* 255–56; Kearney, *Slaveholder's Daughter,* 24; Emma Holmes, *Diary,* 467; see also 484. On southern plantation women's increased postwar workload, see also Avary, *Dixie,* 189; Jenkins, *Seizing,* 43, 44; Thomas, *Secret Eye,* 258.

38. "Long Evenings at Home," *Maine Farmer,* December 9, 1871; T. K. Beecher, "Capabilities of Housekeepers," *Ohio Farmer,* September 26, 1868, 618; *Maine Farmer,* October 5, 1872; Rev. Dr. Willet, "The Model Wife," *Southern Planter,* October 1867, 566. On the differences between the hours of men's and women's labor, see Beecher, "Capabilities."

39. Mary Mason, *Young Housewife's Counsellor,* 10, 19, 11; McNair, *Complete Home,* 468–69; "How They Live," *Maine Farmer,* June 8, 1872, 87; "Sunday Dinners," *Southern Planter and Farmer,* March 1874, 146. For an example of natural time subverting God's time, see Burge, *Diary,* 178.

40. "Domestic Recipes," *Maine Farmer,* January 2, 1869, 77; Theresa C. Brown, *Modern Domestic Cookery,* 179. On clock-regulated recipes, see Helen L. Bostwick, "Cakes, Puddings, etc.," *Ohio Farmer,* April 3, 1869, 218.

41. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years,* 302; "Household," *Southern Planter and Farmer,* February 1871, 93. See also Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 162–63.

42. Elmore, *Heritage,* 125, 126–27; Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years,* 335, 349; Skinner and Skinner, *Death,* 60; Frances Walker Yates Aglionby to sister, May 22, 1865, Frances Walker Yates Aglionby Papers, DU; Fanny I. Erwin to Cadwallader Jones Jr., June 6, 1866, Cadwallader Jones Jr. Papers, SHC. See also Emma Holmes, *Diary,* 469–70; Rable, *Civil Wars,* 255–56; Roark, *Masters,* 149; Huckaby and Simpson, *Tulip Evermore,* 99, 211; Robert Manson Myers, *Children of Pride,* 1305; Thomas, *Secret Eye,* 351.

43. Goodholme, *Goodholme's Domestic Encyclopedia,* 222; Stockton and Stockton, *The Home,* 76–77.

Chapter Five. Doing Time: The Cannon, the Clock, and Civil War Prisons

1. Dix, *Remarks,* 12; Lathrop, *Crime,* 16. For a discussion of indolence as the cause of crime, see de Beaumont and de Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System,* 57.

2. On the Auburn system, see W. David Lewis, *From Newgate,* 118; McGinn, *At Hard Labor,* 5–6.

3. Morris and Rothman, *Oxford History,* 120; Smith in McGinn, *At Hard Labor,* 109; Adamson, "Hard Labor," 109; Lathrop, *Crime,* 101. On the Pennsylvania system, see Crosley, *Unfolding Misconceptions,* 6; Norman Bruce Johnston, *Eastern State Penitentiary;* McGinn, *At Hard Labor,* 4–5.

4. For a comparative discussion on the southern plantation and the northern penitentiary, see Hindus, *Prison.*

5. "List of Prisoners Remaining in the Louisiana Penitentiary on the 31 of December, 1857," in *Biannual Report,* 63, 25.

6. Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, "Punishment and Rewards," in *American Negro Slavery,* ed. Weinstein, Gatell, and Sarashon, 77–78; Michael L. Nicholls, " 'In the Light," 77–78.

7. Orlando Lewis, *Development,* 150; Barnes, *History,* 465. For similar comments on the clock-regulated nature of prison life, see Norman Bruce Johnston, *Forms,* 76–77.

8. Norman Bruce Johnston, *Forms,* 76–77. For similar statements on nature's readjustment of the clock, see Eriksson, *Reformers,* 53.

9. Eriksson, *Reformers,* 56. See also "Chaplain's Report," *Biannual Report,* 11; *Annual Report,* 15; Dodge, *Crime,* 149.

10. Morris and Rothman, *Oxford History,* 121; de Beaumont and de Tocqueville, *On the Penitentiary System,* 73; Sellin, *Slavery and the Penal System,* 143.

11. Simpson, *My Four Months' Experience,* 8–9, 10; Kelley, *What I Saw,* 50; Northrop, *Chronicles,* 80. On the sale or barter of timepieces, see also Calef, "Prison Life in the Confederacy," 138, Cooper, *In and Out,* 222; Davidson, *Fourteen Months in Southern Prisons,* 158–59, 63; Domschcke, *Twenty Months,* 84, 85; Edward Moore Diary, August 2, 1864, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie; Northrop, *Chronicles,* 102, 168; Simpson, *My Four Months' Experience,* 25. On the theft of prisoners' timepieces by Confederates, see Brownell, *At Andersonville,* 4; di Cesnola, *Ten Months*

in Libby Prison, 1; Dufur, *Over the Deadline,* 37; Harrold, *John Harrold,* 32; Sprague, *Lights and Shadows,* 22; Urban, *Battlefield,* 327; Vawter, *Prison Life in Dixie,* 43; by Union officials, see Duff, *Terrors,* 10; Levy, *To Die,* 57. On the theft of watches by other prisoners, see McElroy, *Andersonville,* 149. On the Union Army's rule against theft of watches, see Hamlin, *Martyria; or, Andersonville Prison,* 156; *O.R.,* ser. 2, vol. 5, p. 675.

12. Levy, *To Die,* 168–69.

13. Clay W. Holmes, *Elmira,* 64.

14. William C. Harris, *Prison-Life,* 45, 46, 47; William O. Bryant, *Cahaba Prison,* 57; Kelley, *What I Saw,* 35; Cooper, *In and Out,* 222.

15. William C. Harris, *Prison-Life,* 23; De Forest, *Random Sketches,* 303; Charles Smith, *From Andersonville to Freedom,* 11; Barbière, *Scraps,* 289–90; Geer, *Beyond,* 199; Denney, *Civil War Prisons,* 143, 117. See also George R. Sherman, *Assault,* 29; Bixby, *Incidents,* 33; James, *Civil War Diary,* 37.

16. "Prison Rules at Fort Delaware," 292; Levy, *To Die,* 150, 151, 163.

17. Domschcke, *Twenty Months,* 47; Hawes, *Cahaba,* 129; Kent, *Story,* 25; Cavada, *Libby Life,* 47; see also 153, 154; Simpson, *My Four Months' Experience,* 32; Vawter, *Prison Life in Dixie,* 69–70. See also Browne, *Four Years in Secessia,* 267; William O. Bryant, *Cahaba Prison,* 57, 61; William C. Harris, *Prison-Life,* 55; James, *Civil War Diary,* 17.

18. For prison indolence, see Clay W. Holmes, *Elmira,* 93; Kellogg, *Life,* 45.

19. Vawter, *Prison Life in Dixie,* 59.

20. Domschcke, *Twenty Months,* 84, 47; Vawter, *Prison Life in Dixie,* 59; Handy, *United States Bonds,* 250–51; Cavada, *Libby Life,* 157, 1; Beitzell, *Point Lookout,* 107, 99; Browne, *Four Years in Secessia,* 268, 270; Clearly, "Life and Death," 37–38; Cooper, *In and Out,* 64–70; Davidson, *Fourteen Months in Southern Prisons,* 162; Dunaway, *Reminiscences of a Rebel,* 114; Glazier, *The Capture,* 67–69; Handy, *United States Bonds,* 574–75; Clay W. Holmes, *Elmira,* 38; Joslyn, *Immortal Captives,* 162–63; E. B. Long, "Camp Douglas," 86; *Richmond Examiner,* June 29, 1864; Simpson, *My Four Months' Experience,* 20, 31; Fairchild, *History,* 195.

21. A. P. Schurtz, "From the Diary of A. P. Schurtz," in William C. Harris, *Prison-Life,* 59; Copley, *Sketch,* 163; George R. Sherman, *Assault,* 43; Sprague, *Lights and Shadows,* 91–92; Beitzell, *Point Lookout,* 106.

22. Mattocks, *Unspoiled Heart,* 169; Browne, *Four Years in Secessia,* 268; Diary, September 8, 1863, and September 18, 1863, George W. Grant Papers, DU; *Libby Chronicle,* September 4, 1863, September 18, 1863, August 28, 1863; Boyles, *Reminiscences of the Civil War,* 48.

23. Dougherty, *Diary,* 13; *Libby Chronicle,* September 4, 1863. For more on prison

trade, see King, *My Experience,* 45; Levy, *To Die,* 164; Sprague, *Lights and Shadows,* 83–84; J. H. Vosburg, "Our Captured Correspondent," *New York Herald,* May 9, 1863.

24. Handy, *United States Bonds,* 445, 432.

25. Ibid., 445, 32, 550, 219.

26. Dickson, *Diary,* 106–7; Sangston, *Bastiles of the North,* 25; Sprague, *Lights and Shadows,* 43. See also Byrne, "Libby Prison," 441–42.

27. Joslyn, *Immortal Captives,* 46; Handy, *United States Bonds,* 219; see also 215; Domschcke, *Twenty Months,* 47–48; Kent, *Story,* 38; Bixby, *Incidents,* 52; Copley, *Sketch,* 130; Denney, *Civil War Prisons,* 144. See also Cavada, *Libby Life,* 4–7.

28. Fairchild, *History,* 188; see also 192; Handy, *United States Bonds,* 377–78. For the Sabbath as the longest day of the week, see also Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal,* 30.

29. Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal,* 156.

30. Handy, *United States Bonds,* 179; Fairchild, *History,* 195.

31. Kellogg, *Life,* 24; Griffin Frost, *Camp and Prison Journal,* 197; Barbière, *Scraps,* 117.

32. William Carver Bates, *Stars and Stripes,* 201; Handy, *United States Bonds,* 24, 67, 98, 413, 441, 445, 585.

33. E. B. Long, "Camp Douglas," 85; Levy, *To Die,* 188; Goss, *Soldier's Story,* 91; McElroy, *Andersonville,* 186, 214.

34. Goss, *Soldier's Story,* 22; H. A. Johnson, *Sword,* 11; Fontaine, *Prison Life;* Hitchcock, *From Ashby,* 213–17; Fosdick, *Five Hundred Days,* 8; Boggs, *Eighteen Months,* 37.

35. McElroy, *Andersonville,* 96.

36. Galen D. Harrison, *Prisoners' Mail,* 1.

37. Denney, *Civil War Prisons,* 11.

38. Terry A. Johnston, *Him,* 158; Boggs, *Eighteen Months,* 13.

39. Domschcke, *Twenty Months,* 49; Grant to Butler, August 18, 1864, as cited in Isaiah H. White, "Andersonville Prison," 384.

40. Boggs, *Eighteen Months,* 73; Hitchcock, *From Ashby,* 290.

41. Sabre, *Nineteen Months,* 72; J. Madison Drake, *Fast and Loose in Dixie,* 34–36.

42. McElroy, *Andersonville,* 397, 431; J. Madison Drake, *Fast and Loose in Dixie,* 65, 36; Hitchcock, *From Ashby,* 278. See also H. A. Johnson, *Sword,* 22–23.

43. J. Madison Drake, *Fast and Loose in Dixie,* vi; H. A. Johnson, *Sword,* 22; Fuzzlebug, *Prison Life during the Rebellion,* 164; Ephraim E. Myers, *True Story,* 55; Boggs, *Eighteen Months,* 66.

44. Boggs, *Eighteen Months,* 74.

Epilogue: Antebellum Temporalities in the Postbellum Period

1. Porter, *Campaigning,* 480.

2. On the continuity between the Old South and the New South, see Billings, *Planters;* Cash, *Mind of the Civil War;* Degler, *Place;* Mandle, *Roots;* Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 154; Wiener, *Social Origins.*

3. Rawick, *American Slave,* vol. 6, *Texas,* pt. 5, p. 2141; vol. 14, *North Carolina,* pt. 1, p. 24; vol. 10, *Arkansas,* pt. 5, p. 18.

4. "Our Great Loss," *New York Herald,* April 16, 1865. *Ecchymosis* is the oozing of blood into tissue.

5. "City in Mourning," *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* April 19, 1865; "Public Grief," *New York Tribune,* April 15, 1865; "Removal of Remains to the Executive Mansion," *New York Times,* April 15, 1865; "Reception of the News in Baltimore," *New York Tribune,* April 17, 1865; "Sadness Everywhere," *Pittsburgh Gazette,* April 15, 1865; "Yesterday," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 20, 1865. See also Harrell, *When the Bells Tolled,* 8, 18, 29, 30, 32, 69, 76, 90, 94; Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America,* 216–17.

6. "The Funeral at Washington," *The Liberator,* May 5, 1865.

7. *Buffalo Morning Express,* April 28, 1865.

8. On postbellum school schedules, see Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Beloved Sisters,* 82; "School Record," *Colored American,* December 20, 1865. On the use of the clock in freedmen's schools, see Ames, *From a New England Woman's Diary,* 23, 25, 39. For clock-regulated postbellum transportation schedules, see *Railroad Times,* January 1, 1870; *Ohio Farmer,* July 4, 1868; *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* August 2, 1871; *Atlanta Constitution,* January 25, 1871; *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* August 2, 1871. For clock-defined leisure activities, see *Atlanta Constitution,* April 1, 1871; *New Orleans Times-Picayune,* August 3, 1872. On clock-defined leisure sporting events, see John Cumming, *Runners and Walkers,* 68; *New York Daily,* August 4, 1872; Akers, *Drivers Up,* 45.

9. Trowbridge, *The South,* 412; Cobb, *Cobb's Ordeal,* 291; "September on the Farm," *Boston Cultivator,* September 5, 1868; "Labor and Rest," *Ohio Farmer,* July 11, 1868. For similar statements, see South-Sider, "Practical Farming," *Southern Planter and Farmer,* November 1872, 623–28.

10. Powell, *New Masters,* 79, 126. See also Genovese, *Roll,* 285–324. On time and the South, see Mark M. Smith, *Mastered,* 153–77.

11. Dennett, *The South,* 289; S. C. Shelton, "Discipline on the Farm," *Southern Planter and Farmer,* February 1872, 73–74. On the clock-regulated nature of postbellum agricultural work in the South, see Hamilton, *Negro Freedman,* 261; Whitelaw Reid, *After,* 489, 495.

12. "The Navy-Yard," *New York Times,* February 4, 1866; "Work and Wages," *New York Times,* March 28, 1870; Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours,* 242; Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work,* 157.

13. Wayne, "Antebellum Planters," 160; Isaac Shoemaker Diary, June 18, 1871, DU; Powell, *New Masters,* 111; Charles Sterns, *Black Man,* 46.

14. Moody, *Land and Labor,* 150. On the eight-hour movement, see Cahill, *Shorter Hours,* 11, 77, 139; Rodgers, *Work Ethic,* 104, 159, 157. For contemporary accounts, see "Report on the Hours of Labor," *The Liberator,* June 2, 1865; "Question of Labor," *The Liberator,* June 9, 1865; "The Workingman's Eight-Hour League of Utica, New York," *New York Tribune,* December 29, 1866.

15. "The Labor Movement," *New York Times,* January 30, 1869.

16. Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina, BRFAL; Keating S. Ball Plantation Day Book, 1870, John Ball and Keating Simons Ball Books, SHC; Leigh, *Ten Years,* 25–26; Whitelaw Reid, *After,* 503. On indolence and African Americans, see Ailem, "Century," 379; Caroll to Nancy Ambler, July 28, 1863, Ambler-Brown Family Papers, DU; Reidy, "Coming," 406. For statements similar to Leigh's, see George Fitzhugh, "Freedmen and Freemen," *De Bow's Review,* April 1866, 416–17; Scarborough, *Masters,* 376, 380

17. Harriet Norwood to William G. John, "Indentures of Apprenticeship, Dec. 1865–Feb. 1868, Contracts: Jan. 1, 1865–Jan. 1, 1868," in Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, BRFAL; Lucy to P. J. Hawk, "Indentures, Sept. 1865–Aug. 1867," in Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of North Carolina, BRFAL.

18. Trowbridge, *The South,* 366, 367. For similar sentiments, see Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of South Carolina, BRFAL.

19. "Hard to Please," *Colored American,* December 30, 1865; John Floyd King to Mallery King, January 18, 1866, Thomas Butler King Papers, SHC; David Golightly Harris Farm Journal, November 6, 1866, SHC; Trowbridge, *The South,* 414. On the hiring of immigrants, see Wayne, *Reshaping,* 60–61; Powell, *New Masters,* 14, 22, 73–74; Scarborough, *Masters,* 382–85. For statements on the industrious nature of African American workers, see Ames, *From a New England Woman's Diary,* 19; "Miscellaneous Records 1865–1868," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Arkansas, BRFAL.

20. Powell, *New Masters,* 116; Whitelaw Reid, *After,* 547.

21. Washington, *Up from Slavery,* 16.

22. "Report of the Number of Freedmen Murdered," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, BRFAL.

23. Whitelaw Reid, *After,* 504; Labor Contract, May 13, 1866, Records of the

Assistant Commissioner for the State of Georgia, BRFAL; "Freedmen Labor Contract, Henry Watkins and W. A. Barner," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, BRFAL; "Miscellaneous Freedmen Work Contracts," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, BRFAL.

24. "Miscellaneous Freedmen Work Contracts," Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Tennessee, BRFAL; Shelton, "Discipline," 74. On the equation of time with wages and of lateness with wage deduction, see Charles Craddock Wimbish Accounts, Mecklenburg County, Virginia, Charles Craddock Wimbish Diary, 1843, VHS.

25. Samuel Porcher Gaillard Plantation Journal, April 17, 1868, SCL; Wimbish Diary, 1843, VHS.

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